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#### AMERICAN ART AND THE NEW SOCIETY OF AMERICAN SCULPTORS.

By WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.

N ORDER to show a raison d'être for the formation of the Society of American Sculptors that shall do the work of the serious organizations in Paris, London and Continental Europe, it may be well to show the public at large our point of departure, and make them sensible of the fact that sculpture is not a dead art as many maintain, but it is in a measure the people who are dead to its great possibilities, and the part it plays in the ripe civilization and culture of any great people; for, as the distinguished French critic, Taine, puts it: "Art itself, which is the faculty of perceiving and expressing the leading character of objects, is as enduring as the civilization of which it is the best and earliest fruit."

The present organization has not come into existence by chance, but it comes in the natural order of progress and is a part of the evolution of the American people; for the art-world is much the same as the world of nature, and the time is now ripe for the development of a great national art. Before the supreme and perfect art of Hellas, it is necessary to have the crude, strong, Prephidian sculpture that has in late years been found close to the Acropolis.

How many influences it takes to develop seed-life in nature! What preparation must go before the crystal is dissolved and the earth made ready. It is the law of evolution that the lower gives way to the higher. So with art, as much thought must be given to ripen it, as much time and more than is necessary to the development of a grain of corn or the flower that springs by the wayside.

Browning, with his wonderful insight into human nature, and the human nature of the modern latter half of the nineteenth century, struck the keynote of the thing we have to do in art to-day, when he said that the one supreme effort that is left for earnest man is the depiction of character. To him the development of the human soul was the only thing that he found worth studying. As he closed his long and useful career, he declared everything in life to be, "machinery just meant to give Thy soul its bent."

If then, as the Greek voiced the thought more than two thousand years ago, the character of a man foreshadows his destiny, so is it eminently true of a people; if order and temperance enables a man to lead a useful, dignified, happy life among his fellows, it is equally true with that larger association of men that we call a nation; and we hope to show that over and beyond all the arts, sculpture contributes more to this order of living than

any other art.

We shall show the relation of the artist to the present time, his duties as a citizen and a patriot, and his place in the social life of to-day. I do not mean to give a history of sculpture, but to touch upon both the art and artist and the conditions that have developed both to the highest extent in the past civilizations; for we must reason from experience in the past and not build upon theory and vision.

In order to know how the American people rank to-day in the art of sculpture, and what possibilities are ours for the development of a great national art, we must determine, first, what constitutes greatness in plastic art, and secondly, what are the conditions that produce such greatness. Having considered these two questions, we shall be able to decide, by comparing our conditions with those of other great art-epochs, what probability there is that America will achieve distinction in the art of sculpture.

We shall have to review briefly the history of those nations which have achieved such distinction; the cause of their success and how their art arose; its highest period and its decadence. Then, applying the tests of experience and history to our time, we shall be able to form our

conclusions upon facts.

All men, no matter what their state of civilization, have practiced the art of sculpture. From the first, men have had pleasure in imitating natural objects and sounds. From this love of imitation, the art of sculpture came into existence. While all men have the imitative faculty. but few are creators; and a piece of carving can only be called a work of art when it embodies an esthetic or artistic idea. The mere imitation of a natural object is not sufficient; art demands that something be added to the natural. No better definition can be given, perhaps, than that of Bacon. "Art," he says, "is man added to nature." Such art we are wont to call ideal or supernatural; that is, something in harmony with and embodying our highest thought. Ideal art, then, is the embodiment of a thought; such embodiment alone has the right to be called fine art. Art that lifts us above the commonplace and trivial, into the calm regions of the infinite, cultured people are wont to call great. Art, to be great and ideal, must appeal to the wide intelligence of a people, and it must express their noblest life.

A work of art is the natural product or result of refined and cultured living. It is so of necessity. Then, too, experience and history prove it to be so. A modern Frenchman, with his distorted ideas of life and abnormal moral conceptions, could no more produce a statue like the "Venus of Melos," than could Phidias, living in the calm, normal, refined atmosphere of Hellas, have produced a figure like a "Diana" of the French Salon. An artist is the voice of his people and time. It cannot be otherwise, or the time will not own him.

History shows that great art has existed only where great ideas were current; and history also shows that every statue or monument of artistic worth has come of an intelligent people, and come, not isolated, but together with other like works of art, and where schools of sculpture have existed. There is no exception to this rule. As in later days Shakespeare was the natural climax of the Elizabethan age of letters and dramatics, so was Phidias, in antiquity, the result of the age of Pericles and Plato, and Michael Angelo the perfect flower of the Renaissance. A great critic has shown that we may trace a work of art back, not only to the period and school which produced it, but to the artist himself, and the very time of his life when he created it. The rise, climax, and decadence of an art is one with the rise, climax, and decadence of a people.

The art of sculpture has its limits; its laws are firmly fixed, and plastic ideas can be properly expressed only by one who understands its conditions. We shall see, then, that to speak plastically, or to embody a thought in harmonious and enduring form, requires knowledge, self-restraint, and a mastery over the material from which the thought is to be cut or fused. This art requires complete knowl-

edge of the limitations and laws governing plastic art, and thought sufficient to create a suitable idea. The sculptor must also have acquired sufficient technical power to master the material he works from, and to make it obedient to his thought. A sculptor's natural vehicle of expression is form, as is music to the musician.

There were peoples of antiquity who had no great original art, and yet were known throughout the then civilized world for their wide commercial importance. The Phoenicians were such a people. When a nation has no ideas worthy to be perpetuated, no sculptor arises to put them in enduring form. So, Tyre and Sidon, famous in their day, are known to us only as lying between Egypt and Assyria, and copying the art idea of both these nations.

Having discussed our first question, namely, what greatness is in art, and more particularly sculpture, let us consider the conditions that have been found necessary to produce such great art and artists. If genius in man is like the vital, germinating force in all seed-life, so, like this force, does it depend on benignant and congenial surroundings. A tempered atmosphere is needed to develop that which otherwise would remain undeveloped, or at best remain an abortive growth. Genius in art is dependent upon prevailing tendency, the trend of life, what ideas or purpose may be current; and these decide what manifestation, if any, genius shall take on. To the begetting of a great art, certain moral and political conditions have been found necessary. Calm joy and clear faith are present in all great works of art. People given over to skepticism and despondency seldom produce a great statue or monument. A nation must enjoy a certain tranquility if it is to practice the plastic arts. Statues must be thought out.

Prosperity, too, is necessary to the development of a rounded art. Art cannot flourish in abject poverty. The conditions of life and society must be such as to enforce a proper respect for the artist's

calling. Ancient Rome never had a native artist, because the calling was thought undignified and effeminate. An artist, to produce great work, must be a part of the highest culture of his time. Ruskin has said that he should be fitted for the best society and keep out of it. Is it not truer that he should be fitted for the best society and keep in it? No great art is born of an attic-studio alone. Art must have breadth and depth, must strike its roots deep into the soil upon which humanity lives if it is to live. If it is not. so, it will become the dry, hard, suffering, ascetic art of the monasteries, that cannot stand the light and joy of every day.

Great artists, then, are heirs to all that has gone before, as well as part and parcel of their epochs. Great art may be pathetic as well as joyful, but never despairing; it is the pathos of unstable man looking upon the calm, eternal repose of the mind's creations. The pathos, after all, is subjective rather than objective. In the joyful eras of time, the conditions of life have been such that men have had leisure to create and care for the embodiments of their noblest aspirations; and wishing to perpetuate such ideals, they have put them in stone and lasting bronze.

Let us look at this question of condition more closely. Taking the Greek school, for example, which attained the highest perfection possible, what conditions had it more favorable to sculpture than had Egypt and Assyria, from which she took her beginning in art? These nations furnished each an indispensable letter of an alphabet, which, in the hands of the clear-eyed Greek, was made to express his free-born intelligence, symmetrical idea of human life, and the forces that govern it.

The first condition of Greek life was freedom. The Greek citizen served neither priest nor king. He elected his own magistrates and pontiffs, and might, in turn, be elected to any office himself. He was liable to be called upon to judge important political cases in the tribunal, and to decide grave matters of state in the

assemblies. Every man was a trained soldier as well as a politician. It was necessary to be able to protect one's self from a possible inroad of the barbarians. All men were eligible to national offices. The warfare of that day called for personal prowess and agility, and the individual was developed to his highest possible capacity, capable of the utmost human endurance. The producing of fine physical form was the chief art among the Greeks. The Olympian games consisted of a triumphal display of the nude figure. Before the eyes of the whole nation, the Greek youth contended for supremacy. Poets chanted the praises of the victor, and his name was given to the Olympiad. His native city received him in triumph, and the deeds of his prowess became her pride. Many tales are told of the excessive admiration and constant joy which the Greek had in perfection of human form. The costume was light and easily put off, while the long, sweeping folds of the mantle gave dignity and grace to the draped figure. We know that the flower of Athenian youth entered into these contests; and it is recorded that Sophocles, when a youth, and distinguished for his beauty, stripped off his garment to dance and chant pæans. Phidias not only entered to admire and study the nude form at these joyful festivals, but was wont himself to contend; so he knew from experience all possible movements of the human body and every expression of the face. At the baths, too, sculptors had the opportunity of studying the human figure in a thousand listless, graceful attitudes.

Not only did the Greek admire a finely-developed human form, but he considered it to be actually the abode of divinity. To him the body was the temple of the spirit, as the word is used in its pagan interpretation. It is natural for the Greek to have sought an enduring expression for the beautiful human forms it was the chief end of his existence to develop; and a successful athlete, when crowned, was entitled to a statue.

Their greatest sculptor, Phidias, lived at the same time as their greatest architect, Ictinus, their most revered philosopher, Plato, and distinguished dramatist, Sophocles. We see, then, that the age which produced the greatest men in literature, art and science produced the grandest works of sculpture in Greece. We know that Pericles, the chief statesman of that era, was the friend of Phidias, and could, no doubt, talk as intelligently about art as Phidias could converse about letters and affairs of state.

Athenian civilization was at its zenith. The fragments which remain of the frieze and pedimental groups of the Parthenon exhibit the handiwork of a firmly-poised, symmetrical mind, and a hand thoroughly trained to execute its bidding. Were we not charmed with the perfect proportion and satisfying beauty of the whole, it would be easy to lose one's self in the subtlety of finish and the delicate relation of plane to plane. Dignity, reverence, and self-control are their chief characteristics, and must have distinguished the man who created these marvelous works. Supreme knowledge of the laws and limitations of sculpture is shown. Each figure is perfectly adapted to the place it fills.

After several hundred years of effort, Rome conquered Greece, and robbed her of her art treasures to decorate her own gaudy villas. Glancing for a moment at the condition of national and private life at Rome, we shall see why she never produced a great art or even one single distinguished sculptor. Could we have followed Greek art from the moment of her supreme glory to the second period of her career, of which epoch Praxiteles was the most illustrious creator, we would have seen her stripped of her sublimity, but still beautiful. The distinguishing characteristic of this second epoch, 150 B. C., when the decadence of art had begun, was a sensous loveliness. The spiritual meaning was becoming more and more confused, the standards of life were lowered, and all that was ennobling and poetical in the Greek religion was fast becoming lost in affectation. As life was degraded, art followed its footsteps. Art had still, however, its canons of modesty. After the death of Praxiteles, sensual represen-

tation became its chief object.

To be a great artist in Greece was to be the equal of the greatest in the land. In Rome it was not so. Artists were relegated to the mechanic classes. The Roman was a distinct realist, and never rose above the level of portraiture and imitation. The chief object of Roman life was to possess and dominate. Amid such selfish and ignoble surroundings, art could not flourish. Cæsar, Agrippa and Augustus affected a love for the fine arts. The plundering of Greece finally led to the establishment of a second-rate school at Rome, which we may call the Greco-Roman. The conditions of life at Rome were utterly opposed to the creation or development of a national school that can, with any propriety, be called great. Their chief art was warfare, and in this they excelled. Public and private life was immoral to the point of licentiousness. Rome may be quoted as a negative example, to show the conditions under which art cannot exist, or reach any lofty development.

The little art which Rome possessed was swept away or buried by the barbarian hordes. What followed upon the invasions is painful enough, when we think of monuments mutilated that were once the glory of Greece. In the ten centuries that follow upon the fall of Rome there is no art worthy of record; nor has this brutalized, debased existence any direct bearing upon the subject. The conditions under which men lived were not those

from which art is developed.

With the Gothic period, new life was infused into sculpture, as well as into architecture. But sculpture was for the most part decorative and so much the handmaiden of architecture that it is difficult to separate one from the other. The workmen who carved the ornaments of these vast Gothic cathedrals became, by practice and aspiration and by study of

new-found classical models, the sculptors who formed the early Italian Renaissance. Human life was taking on new aspects. Man's restless, feverish desires were satisfied by the new ideals which Christianity had planted in his breast. Life became joyful once more, as it was in ancient Greece, and expressed itself in manifold lovely forms, weird, mystical and enchanting. Sculpture was more personal than with the Greek. Life was more direct, and every moment, to the Christian, was

of divine importance.

There is a happy blending in this Rennaissance period of the grand style with a style so tender and full of human affection, that we may best characterize it by the word, "Christian." Human life was again serious, beautiful and expansive. Human rights were respected, and law was reëstablished. Life became once more normal, intelligent, and free; and art, corresponding to these conditions, arose and was developed to a marvelous degree of perfection. Donatello and Michael Angelo are the men whose art makes up and colors the new-found Renaissance school. The art of Donatello shows classical influence, and that of Michael Angelo consummate knowledge of antique sculpture. The greatest men of this school in sculpture were roundedly-developed men of broad ideas and liberal culture. The relief work of Donatello is known throughout the world. It is tinged, but sweetly, with the mystical spirit of those who created Gothic art. It is a happy blending of a contented, Christian living, with calm, classical feeling for outline and form.

We have already spoken of the art of Michael Angelo, and need not return to it now. Art was again down-trodden, or lost sight of, in the skepticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Life was not worthy of perpetuation in sculpture. Human thought was too fickle and changeable, so we may pass over the inter-lude after the Italian Renaissance, until we come to the modern rebirth of art in

France.

France was the cradle of modern sculp-Whatever criticisms or strictures we may see fit to make upon French sculpture, we must give her credit for the splendid and fearless way in which she initiated a new art-era. In dealing with the modern art of France, it is difficult to be just,-to hold the matter at arms' length, as it were, and look upon its every side. We are apt to be fascinated with its brilliant qualities and forget that the first test by which we must judge it, is whether or not it be sculpturesque. While France has produced some fine work and isolated statues. here and there, taken as an art, as a school of sculpture, it cannot be called great,not in the sense, certainly, in which we have applied the term to the art of Greece and that of the Italian Renaissance.

The French have shown intimate knowledge of the human form, together with much technical skill. Certain of their statues exhibit action and force and even original genius. If the conditions of French life had not demanded the sensual realism that dominates their art, the art of France might have become great. Then, too, this realistic tendency has carried them so far that their statues are little more than literal copies of the nude models one may see at the Julian schools or at the academy. The statue of St. John, by Rodin, is only a common Italian model of a low type, with a head that forbids any intellectual activity. The statue is an exact copy of this model. This example may stand for most all of their statues. The too close following of the living model has led them into a style that argues a sure decadence.

French sculpture reflects French life. Can we call that life great? I think not; nor can we call their art great. The conditions of life in France are not true and noble enough, not pure and frank enough, in their essence, to produce a great and lasting art, and no amount of artifice will enable them to do so. It is clever, brilliant, if you will, but no one can say that France has produced a great school of sculpture. Is not the supreme test for

work of art this? Does it teach us to live better, more calmly and greatly? If not, it cannot be called great and will not endure.

The beginnings of our modern school were made by men who had studied in Italy and France, many of them in both schools. Of the early American school of sculpture, which has almost entirely passed away, and left to us, alas, so many dull, lifeless, pseudo-Greek works, it is scarcely worth while to speak. No sculpture of this school rose even to the level of Canova or Thorwaldsen, and these sculptors were simply imitators of the Greek school.

We, like the Greeks, are free men. conditions of our life, the new life that is beginning everywhere, are much the same as those which existed in Athens in her palmy days of art. Education is free and universal. We are not harassed by warfare or by a military system that takes a number of the best years of a man's life and devotes them to military routine. We are a prosperous people; abject poverty is rarely found. Then, too, we have numerous processes for reproducing works of art, and carrying them into every home in the land, so all may know what other people have achieved in art and letters. We are the heirs, more than any people, perhaps, to-day, of the past history of the world. Life with us is, in the main, frank and open. Every man is thought to have some occupation. Our religion does not fetter us. We are free to represent what we will in sculpture or painting, as long as our representation be not ignoble or licentious. There are laws prohibiting representations of this order. We are a people who love the beautiful; this is amply manifested by our poets, historians, and novelists. Our art is yet in its youth, but there is something in the American genius akin to the Greek-a most precious quality-that power to be evolved and evolve itself unendingly,-capacity for indefinite expansion. So far, it has shown itself chiefly in science and mechanics; but these are the natural precursors of art-epochs. Among the Continental nations of Europe, we are held to be a great people. Is it not natural to assume, then, that our art, when it has had time for a proper and rounded development, shall also be great?

It is for this purpose, I take it, that American Art was called into existence and we must let no criticism deter us, and no past fetter us. Art is not to be borrowed or stolen or invented. It comes only by evolution. The evolution of art and the artist works according to an universal unchangeable law. We are confronted with new problems that call upon us for independent solution. We are the heirs of all the ages, and surely we are not willing to accept tamely and supinely the opinions and achievements of the people who had a different light and a different social environment, and who were great and good according to the interpretation of their ages.

I believe the outlook is very bright for great art in America,—Art second to none the world has known. Not like that which Greece gave the world. Nor, indeed, will it be an imitation of any foreign school, be that Greek, Florentine, or French. We are to give these schools and nations their meed of appreciation and reverence and then to say with Michael Angelo: "I go my way alone."

Having, then, given some instances of the evolution of art in past civilizations, of its rise, reason for existence and its decay, we may return to the work undertaken by the present Society of American Sculptors, and the movement inaugurated by the men who have broken away from the old association and formed this new society.

No immediate clash or disturbance has brought about this movement. It is the result of a number of meetings held by

the new men to consider the welfare of their art and to organize a society that shall be of the greatest benefit to the people and the sculptors; to provide a suitable housing for the sculptors with a club-house and permanent exhibitionroom where works can be seen by the public, and the artists brought in close touch with the people; to provide, also, for sculptors who are often in great need and have no resources to fall back upon; to try to save the sites in our great cities especially suited to memorial sculpture or ideal works, and to see that the works erected are those of an artistic nature and not the result of political intrigue; to form pleasant relationships with societies of a like nature in England, France, Italy, and other countries; to beget and foster a brotherly spirit among the artists working in the same craft; to encourage the young men to higher ideals by lectures and a well-ordered library, and giving all an opportunity who have the ability to become members of the association, from which many may have been excluded by an arbitrary Board of Directors; to interest thoughtful laymen in the ends of this society and form a propaganda for the dissemination of ideas about what is truly sculpturesque and which may save our country from the product of the stone-yard; to have a bureau in connection with the association to which any committee or individual may appeal for an opinion regarding the best kind of memorial for a given site or purpose, and to induce the National and civic governments to take down such memorials as are a disgrace to our people and to replace them by works in sculpture of dignified and artistic nature.

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#### THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT.

By JOAQUIN MILLER.

C HARLES Frederick Holder, of Southern California, devotes nearly a dozen pages in the August Arena to the history of and in advocacy of the Chinese Exclusion Act, to expire in December.

This act for the exclusion of these most sober, honest, industrious and patient little people was about the worst thing that ever happened to this fertile state so much in need of reliable labor. Californians, the real Californians, desire this act modified, if not entirely abrogated. It must not be perpetuated. California wants, needs, labor; and within their limited scope, the Chinese are by great odds the best laborers we have or ever have had. Fortunately, they do not enter largely into competition with white men. They do women's work, in the main. They are largely domestics, launderers, gardeners and such-like light workers. One of Mr. Holder's most serious charges against them, to use his own words, is that "they washed the clothes of the early San Franciscan so cheaply that the few white Irish women were in despair, gave it up, and in some instances married rich miners."

This was hardly a bad thing for "the early San Franciscan"; it was certainly not a bad thing for "the white Irish woman," and let us hope it was not quite a bad thing for "the rich miners." In fact, you may detect some of the progeny of these people in Dan. Beard's cartoon in the August Arena.

Mr. Holder further complains that "there was not a white man on the Pacific Slope making a living selling garden vegetables which he could raise easily in the virgin soil." And then he proceeds to quote from General Grant's memoirs to show how he tried to plow and plant potatoes and failed because he got flooded out. All this was up in Oregon, in the early fifties, where there was not, as yet, a sin-

gle Chinaman; but Mr. Holder says there was "great over-production, not due to Americans, but to Chinese."

The fact is, the Chinamen are the finest gardeners in the world, except the Japanese, and can get more out of a garden, two to one, than a white man. They know when to plant, where to plant, how to plant, how to gather truck and how to market it. And that is why they can and do pay from ten to twenty-five dollars an acre for annual rent and make money, where a white man, even though educated at West Point, would starve. And that is one reason why we need them and want them. They are not farmers at all, in the sense that we understand farming in California, only gardeners. And they never own the land; only rent from year to year; so that many small farmers in California try to rent a garden to the Chinamen; for they can get four-fold more in that way than in handling the ground themselves. Here you can see clearly why this very desirable element, the small farmer, abhors the Exclusion Act. It literally takes the bread out of his children's mouths.

Says Mr. Holder: "The people demanded that the 'Chinese should go,' and a series of riots occurred that were a disgrace to the State and country. The people were being over-run and vainly endeavored to throw it off. Employers of cheap labor, and the railroads wished the Chinese, and the East, that had no conception of the situation, took up arms with them. The press, particularly of New England, the home of the abolitionist, raised a hue and cry about the equality of man; siding with the Chinese against their own countrymen."

Mr. Holder says "the people demanded that the Chinese should go." But who were the people at that time? The Irish washer-woman referred to and their kindred, under the lead of Denis Kearney and like foreigners. (And by way of parenthesis let me say here that Denis Kearney has quite turned his back on his old associates and is now a quiet and highly-respected citizen. He visited me here lately, and when I referred to the old sand-lot rioters he shook his head and changed

the subject).

San Francisco is by no means California; but if a vote could be taken to-morrow for or against Chinese, there would be a vast majority for the Chinese, even in this one troublous city of labor-unions in California. An army officer, sitting at my table last month, said, in answer to a question from my mother: "No, madam, I shall never bring my family to California again till I can have reliable servants,—Chinese."

Mr. Holder seems to think that the Sons of the Revolution and the sand-lotters are the same! Here is what he says:

"At first the native-born American did not realize this, but the truth soon came home that the man with a birthright, the man whose ancestors fought for the country in 1776, the man who had a wife and children was being pushed to the wall, starved out in the garden-spot of the world."

The fact is, it is the real American, the man who has a wife and children, that wants and most needs the presence of the Chinese.

Mr. Holder shows great research and learning. He is in all ways an able man; the ablest, perhaps, that the cause he advocates could produce. Referring to the well-meaning people of the East, he says:

"Their sentiment was appealed to, while the crowded-out California farmer and his wife and children were forgotten."

I have said, and I repeat, there is not a small farmer, nor a big farmer, as to that, in all California who is not suffering for Chinese help. He not only wants to rent land, but he wants to lift his daughters out of the drudgery of the kitchen and keep them at school. The Chinaman is a natural domestic and is happy at his work, as he hopes to soon go home. But the white girl, the daughter of a land-owner, does not belong in the kitchen all the time.

Hear this final appeal!

"California demands a class of labor that will not compete with whites. She demands laborers that will become citizens, grow up with the country, rear their children here, invest their savings in her products. The question is no longer one of affecting the Pacific Coast, but the entire 'world. The 400,000,000 Chinese, mostly laborers, living upon six cents per day, are a menace to the civilized and Christian world; they should be restricted to China."

The truth is, California demands a class of labor that is willing to get out and labor. And that is what the Southern States want, what all the States want. We want that and just that, be the laborer white, black or brown.

The serious charge that Chinese do not bring their families, buy land and live with us, answers itself. They do not want to raise their families here because we have less real Christian humanity here than prevails in China. You may spend days in San Francisco and scarce see a single native Chinese. But I venture to say that when you do meet with one you will find him much gentler and better bred than those who are urging his exclusion and who are entirely white to look upon.

Mr. Holder puts the entire Chinese population now in the United States at possibly 80,000. Let us accept his statement and recall the fact that when the first Pacific railroad was being built we had more than twice that number in California alone. As they returned to China of their own will, what becomes of the stock-in-trade and bogie-cry about "Asiatic hordes"?

The fact is, the Chinaman is a homebody by nature. It is a part of his religion to be content at home. Confucius forbade that a man should change either his habitation or his trade. He taught that a man should leave his bones in the land of his birth, lest the land should, in the course of ages, become barren and worn out.

Their graves are all very shallow and, as in Mexico, the box, or coffin, is only used to carry the body to the grave. The very next year the plow passes over the remains and the leveled grave is planted. There are no grave-stones in China, with a single exception. A father, by imperial decree, may be permitted, on payment of a big sum, to raise a stone to a daughter who has lived and died a widow. As you sail along the thousands of miles you see, on the marshy sea-banks, what seems to be great haystacks. These are mounds raised to the memory of famous men on the vast, somber marshes. These marshes belong to the Empire. All the salt of the Empire is made here. But not one foot of tillable land, save for the tombstone of the faithful widow is used for permanent graves. We laugh at these people, but there is a humane and honest purpose in all their most simple ways. It is time we learned to do something better than abuse a people of whom we know almost as little after fifty years' intercourse as Russia knew of Japan a year ago.

I assert that farmers, great and small, women, inside of cities and outside of cities, all peoples of all places, with one single exception, desire a modification, or better still, an unqualified repeal of the Restriction Act: and that one exception

is the labor-unions.

And now, lest there should be some one to question this, let me quote once more at length from Mr. Holder's long and learned article so often referred to. In this you find the whole matter in a nutshell. We all want the Chinese to come to California and help us except the contentious labor-unions of one city, San Francisco. But here are the words of their ablest advocate:

"Ranchers on the great fruit-farms of

California, the vineyardists, desire Chinese labor, as cheap labor is not only a desideratum but a necessity to enable them to realize a profit. The railroads require the Chinaman in default of being obliged to import the cheap labor of Mexicans who can withstand the intense heat of the Southwest. Another field is that of domestic labor or as house-servants. House-holders would gladly welcome thousands of them to take the places of inefficient aliens from other lands. All these classes will welcome a modification of the existing treaty, but the labor-unions will insist on the present restrictions."

I call the attention of Congress and the President to the facts, as set down by the ablest champion of the Exclusion Act. We all need and all want the Chinese with us; all, all except the labor-unions!

The Exclusion Act was a sop thrown from time to time to "the Irish washerwoman" element to catch votes, and the Republican politicians even out-Heroded the Democratic politicians in this. real Californian who bears the burthen of State hardly took note of what was being done till too late; but now he wants the whole thing undone. And as a matter of fact, it would be better for the only element that now desires the Exclusion Act in any form, if it were swept aside. Some of the laborers of the labor-unions have homes and they want cheap Chinese help as much as any of us; and if the doors were opened to-morrow, so that we could get a good domestic, as was the case a few years ago, for one-fifth the price that we now pay for a poor one, you would find many a labor-union man taking in a Chinaman and turning his daughter out to school, a good thing for all concerned. I well remember in the old days how we were often amused to see the "Irish washer-women" take to themselves a housefull of the hated Chinese the day they married "the rich miners."

JOAQUIN MILLER.

The Hights, Dimond, Cal.

### THE TRADE OF MEXICO: WHY THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT HOLD A LARGER SHARE OF IT.

BY MORRELL W. GAINES.

HE EXPORTS of Mexico run to \$75,000,000 a year. The imports come to nearly the same amount. This is an international trade well worth consider-It is growing rapidly with the peaceful development of the nation's resources, having increased by 50 per cent. during the last ten years. The most noticeable single increases are in the exportation of agricultural products and in the importation of fuel and machinery, both of which are indices of a healthy general expansion along solid lines. The near future will no doubt show still greater advance, because the main resource of the country, its agriculture, has by no means been fully exploited. It is capable of a tremendous further growth which will as it progresses augment the volume of the international exchange of raw material and food-stuffs for fuel and finished products. These are the four main elements of Mexico's foreign commerce proper.

The precious metals, which are of course included in the total exports, still constitute about 60 per cent. of the whole, but are not, strictly speaking, to be considered in all respects as articles of trade.

Of the imports about one-half come from the United States. Of the exports about three-quarters go to this country. In the latter figure, however, is included a large amount of gold and silver which comes to us for the reason that the routes of quick transportation lie in our direction. In strict truth that heavy proportion of these metals that is sent here simply for purposes of immediate realization in the open market, should be deducted from the share of Mexico's export-trade that we have been calling our own. One half at the most of the total foreign commerce of our next neighbor is all that we can with justice lay claim to. This, in view of our transportation advantages

and of the fact that our investments in Mexico are larger by two or three hundred million dollars than are those of all the other outside nations put together, is not a flattering showing for our all-powerful, market-conquering commercial arganization.

Worse than this, we have as yet made hardly any headway in competing with Europe for the more profitable and valuable part of the import trade. The imports that do come from us are of such things as coal, petroleum and its products, machinery, railroad materials, and in general, articles of industrial consumption. Europe, on the other hand, supplies the great bulk of the articles of personal consumption. This covers of course, the main body of the merchandise subject to retail handling; the dry-goods, hardware, groceries, jewelry and the multitude of diverse commodities that make up the ordinary store-trade of the nation. With occasional outposts upon each other's territory the position which the two contestants occupy is substantially this: the United States sells bulk commodities and certain other articles of which the sales can be made direct to the ultimate purchaser, or the distribution effected by means of central agencies; Europe sells the things in connection with which rehandling by middlemen is required. The internal channels of trade, in short, are fed from European sources and we are simply outsiders.

It is not necessary to go into the question of comparative merits or prices of the things sold to find the reason why Europe occupies such a commanding position at our very door. Our wholesalers and manufacturers are fast approaching the point, if they have not yet altogether reached it, where they can meet the world in quality and in cost so far as the impor-

tant staples and semi-staples of commerce are concerned. The European ascendency in Mexico is not due to industrial superiority. It comes from a superior adaptation to the financial needs of the Mexican trade, in part, and in part from a vastly more effective sales-organization in the country itself. As the Mexican trade is immensely profitable, yielding a net margin out of the final retail sellingprice that is from two to five times what we are accustomed to in the United States, it is somewhat surprising that we have not put forth more serious and more intelligent efforts to capture a share of this extremely valuable field. All the points of strength are ours. Europe holds the ground simply because her strength is applied effectively while ours is not.

In order to understand the salient points of the European position it is essential to review briefly the general elements of the

commercial situation in Mexico.

The most striking features of the retail trade are the long credits allowed to customers and the high margins of profit. An effort has recently been made among the importing houses of Mexico City to reduce the usual term of retail credit to four months. This has not proved entirely successful because some of the more important houses could not refrain from attempting to seduce patrons of other institutions by secretly offering the old accommodation. Elsewhere in the Republic no effort has been made to alter or to shorten the ancient arrangements. Collection is not pressed for six or eight months or even more. Open accounts are often kept that run along for years without ever being completely settled up at any one time. This system of credits has arisen because almost all of the desirable trade is with the wealthy, with professional men to some extent, but more particularly with the landed proprietors. The middle class has not yet become very important as a purchasing factor, except possibly in the city itself, and the masses of the poor do their scanty trading in little shops of their own and for cash. In prin-

ciple, at least, the patrons of the large importing houses are still exclusively of the gentry, as they were in fact before the upheaving advent of the railroads. Hence the personal accommodation, and hence also the existence of high profits. Trade is attracted and held by display, personal interest shown in the customer and courtesies extended to him, rather than by sharp price-competition. Indeed, all the circumstances preclude doing business on small margins. The profits must be ample enough to carry the whole easy-going, loose system of doing business. There is, besides, comparatively little incentive to cut prices close. The custom of the country is to hold to generous profits.

This general tendency towards high prices has been materially aided by the fluctuations in the value of the silver currency. Merchants buying their goods from abroad have been forced for very safety's sake to add a wide margin to the silver cost-price in order to be sure of getting back the correct gold value from the sale. For the same reason there is no real knowledge on the part of the purchaser of how much an imported article ought properly to be worth. Standard prices, if there were such a thing, would vary from day to day with the rise and fall in foreign exchange. As it is, all possible varieties in price are ascribed to the state of the silver market, and the purchaser has little means of telling how near the truth the representations may be. A year ago exchange on the United States went up to Merchants thereupon marked their costs up to an exchange of 300 as a basis, in order to have no mistake about the profits. Since then exchange has fallen to 220. The old cost-basis of 300 is still in use, however, on the goods marked up at that time, and it will be a good while before the consumer gets through paving the merchants the 80 points of difference. The demand for low and reasonable prices is not powerful enough nor intelligent enough to force the abandonment of

the extra margin. After all, the mere cost

of an article does not matter so deeply in

Mexico if the time of meeting the bill be put off far enough into the future.

The stores employ an immense number of clerks. Each one of the latter is supposed to have his individual clientele of customers, which he is instrumental in drawing to the house. At any place where you may have traded you will invariably be waited on by the same man each time you come, who will make it his business to know your wants and your temptations. Even where the store is so large that it is impossible for any one man to know the whole stock, you are met at the door by your particular friend who convoys you through the different departments and acts as go-between in each one. The army of unemployed standing behind the counters of any first-class establishment is enough to make an American manager gasp. The custom of dealing only through men that one knew doubtless arose from the practice of selling without fixed prices, but with much of haggling and special bargaining to be gone through with each time a purchase was made, a custom that still prevails even among very good shops. Obviously it is better not to trust to the mercies of a chance acquaintance to say nothing of a complete stranger, in dealings of this nature. Some one, known to be well-disposed and reliable must be responsible both for the quality and the price of what you buy. There must be some one to hold to account in case of dissatisfaction. The proceedings in the store are of a piece with the still-observed custom of sending you your first statement of account three months after you have made your purchase, with the mild request that you will please signify whether or no it is all right, so that the proper entry may be made on the books. Still later you may be asked to set a time when it will be convenient to make the payment. The extreme measure of a deliberate dun lies yet further off in the misty future. The whole relation of store to customer is a carefullynursed personal one in which courtesy on the part of the store is broken over only under the extremest provocation. Bad debts, of course, sometimes occur under these lax conditions. They are, however, much less numerous than would be anticipated and the generous cloak of wide profits is looked to to cover them all. With the increase in business the times have, it is true, brought some diminution in the proportion of profit that may be levied, and there is a certain tendency toward hardening and strictness in the relations with patrons. The standing of a prospective customer especially is apt to receive a closer scrutiny than used to be the case. But all in all the system still meets the needs of a wealthy, leisure-loving, non-commercial people very well, and the failures among mercantile houses are con-

spicuously few.

Before the time of the railroads the country hacendados or estate-owners made their purchasing journeys twice a year, just before the six months' rainy season and again a short time after. This was both on account of the condition of the roads and because of convenience with reference to the crop seasons. At these times they would buy in immense quantities. Although it is now possible to travel even in the time of the rains, custom and the change of the seasons still induce the making of the main purchases before Easter and late in the fall. In addition to the habit of making six months' purchases at once the wealthy hacendados, as well as the country store-keepers, have a predilection for picking out the actual physical bolt of cloth, piece of furniture or bit of hardware that they want. They are altogether distrustful of purchasing by sample and must go over the cases of goods in detail to select the exact article that they care to buy. They want also to pick it out from the largest available stock of similar articles. For this reason every first-class house carries an enormous stock of goods and that, too, not in reserve, but opened up for display. The carrying of a year's supply in this way is a very usual circumstance.

With the slow turn-over of the stock

and the long credits to customers, the credit that the merchant himself receives from abroad is of the most vital importance, especially since the banking system at home does not provide for extending the same amount or sort of credit to active business operations that is customary where banking capital is more plentiful and less in demand. It is also essential that the foreign credit be sufficiently elastic to allow of payments being postponed from a time of unfavorable exchange to one of favorable exchange. The possibility of an extension of six months or a year, or still longer, is of greater moment to the importer than a reduction of 10 per cent., or even of 20 per cent., in the price of the goods themselves. The merchant who does business on a silver basis can never tell how near ruin the exchange is going to bring him if he must meet a large foreign debt by a fixed date. He must be free to avert the worst effects of his currency by gambling in it. Thus the debts of the last two years of bad exchange are being paid up with a rush, now that the rate has gone down to 220. To such an extent is this true that a great scarcity of money has resulted from the drain on the country's supply of cash. Elastic credit on purchases is evidently a prime requisite for the Mexican importing trade.

In Europe this elastic credit is readily obtainable. The reputation of Mexican commercial houses for solidity is absolute there. The managers and owners are European without much exception, and they are in touch with their own countrymen abroad. During long years of supplying regular clients in Mexico, Europe has come to know that the actual failures are a negligible quantity. Then, too, the retiring partners of Mexican houses go back to Europe to live, and, by their wealth and connections, furnish a strong alliance with the capital of the old world. Germany sells goods on six months' time with two per cent. off for cash, giving permission to renew for successive periods of six months at six per cent. per annum interest. France and Spain adopt practically the same course.

Naturally, under the circumstances, our own sixty-day and ninety-day drafts are not looked upon with favor. Such quick payments are not only contrary to established custom, but they are beyond the means of the merchants to meet in any volume. Our jobbers must face squarely the credit advantages offered by Europe before they can invade the Mexican field successfully on a large scale. This is a rather difficult thing to do from the outside, because in spite of all that is good among the mercantile class in the Republic, commercial morality towards strangers is not highly developed. That is especially true so far as it applies to matters of time. The fact that a note or piece of paper calls for payment on such and such a date does not mean that the signer feels it incumbent upon him to exert himself to get the money on the day designated. If it is not convenient for it then, he considers himself entitled to the usual accommodation between gentlemen of a further extension. It will take intelligent men well versed in the ins and outs of the business world of Mexico to keep watch over the increased credits that ought to be given.

There are two especial ways in which the necssary amplification of American credit might be taken care of. One is to follow the example of Europe and establish American importing concerns or branch houses that can call upon American money and American banking to the same degree as the European houses can call upon Europe. The other is to organize an American mercantile bank which will be prepared to supply in Mexico the additional credit that the jobber and the retailer alike stand in need of.

The first of these two methods will naturally be followed more or less as time goes on. Already there are some American retail houses operating in certain lines in Mexico with sufficient capital and backing to enable them to do a large business. But our powerful jobbers have apparently not yet felt inclined to tie up the large amount of money necessary to get a wholesaling opening of the first magnitude.

The second method is one that should by all means be taken up by American capital. Nothing could be a stronger stimulus to American trade or a more profitable investment on its own account. It is true that there are already American banks in Mexico some of which look with longing eyes on the time when they may be able to handle commercial paper. Banking capital, however, is already so overworked with the attempt to supply other forms of loans that there is no money available for the building up of this form of credit. Besides that, since the oldfashioned importing houses are, in consequence of the peculiar Mexican credit customs, loaded down with loans secured by personal notes, it would be a matter of time and effort to develop a good and clean business in handling strictly commercial paper. It needs a powerful bank free to devote strong energies to the promotion of that one thing. With such a bank once established, or an existing bank strengthened in such a way that the American could get the same amount of accommodation on his business that the other nationalities enjoy on their various personal connections, a veritable revolution in the Mexican trade would be inaugurated. The bank itself would without a doubt prove extremely profitable.

Year by year business in Mexico is becoming more business-like and has less of the character of personal relation. The adoption of the gold-standard, which will probably take place within a twelvemonth, will ultimately operate to do away with another considerable part of the wide margins and lack of price-competition. Already the pressure of numbers is forcing a progressive abandonment of the easygoing attitude of the past. The trend of the times is thus to favor the entrance of the American. Surely where there is so much money to be made and so much prestige at stake the novelty and the difficulties of the trade conditions cannot long stand in our way.

MORRELL W. GAINES.

New Dorchester, Mass.

## EXECUTIVE USURPATION BASED ON UNWRITTEN LAW; OR, A DEFENCE THAT CONDEMNS.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR: Below we give our readers a most remarkable letter from Hon. E. F. Ware, Commissioner of Pensions, of the Department of the Interior. It was called forth by Professor Parsons' open letter to President Roosevelt which appeared in the August Arena. We give this letter in full, as it is presumably the ablest apology that the Commissioner feels can be made for the extraordinary act of executive usurpation which we believe establishes a precedent fraught with the greatest perils to the Republic. We also publish Professor Parsons' masterly reply. It is well for our country that in the presence of acts so essentially subversive in character, we have trained minds, men of courage, conscience, and scholarship; who

dare to expose the wrongs and point out the perils lurking in such seemingly innocent rulings which, however, are in essence destructive to the fundamental principles of Democratic Government.—B. O. F.]

I. COMMISSIONER WARE'S LETTER.

"Department of the Interior,
"Bureau of Pensions,
"Office of the Commissioner,
"Washington, D. C., August 9, 1904.

"Prof. Frank Parsons, "Boston, Mass.

"SIR: In your recent open letter to President Roosevelt you take up the questions of pensions. "Referring to my recent Order No. 78, which is on page 123 of the magazine, you say:

"'The order provides that old age should be deemed a disability within the meaning of the law of June 27, 1890, but that law provides pensions in case of disability resulting from military service during the Civil war.'

"I am not finding any fault with your article, nor is it the object of this letter to do so, but I desire to set you right upon a matter in which so many thousands of people are mistaken that they criticise Order No. 78 unjustly.

"Now as a matter of fact the law is directly the opposite of what you say it is, and if you will permit me to illustrate it you will see the force of my statement.

"Suppose, for instance, an old soldier is perfectly able to work and earn his support by manual labor and cannot be pensioned under any law of the United States. Supposing that to-morrow he is run over by an automobile and rendered incapable of earning his living by manual labor. In this case the disability was not received in the service and has no connection with it whatever, yet nevertheless he is entitled to the maximum pension for total disability (providing he is totally disabled) and he is pensioned accordingly.

"Now in contemplation of law it makes no difference whether the wheels of time or of an automobile run over the man, he is pensionable because he was a soldier.

"It is to me a matter of regret that there are a thousand orators in the United States, who do not understand what Congress has by law continually enacted, that are criticising Order 78.

"It is an unwritten law that no old soldier shall go to the poor-house, no matter whether his disabilities are of service origin or not, providing they are not of vicious origin.

"Very respectfully,
"E. S. WARE,
"Commissioner."

II. PROFESSOR PARSONS' REPLY.

My Dear Commissioner:

I thank you heartily for your favor of the 9th. If the letter and spirit of the law can be fairly interpreted to cover disabilities clearly not connected directly or indirectly with the fact of service in the Civil war, and to include old age under disability, that is a strong point in favor of the Department. But if so, why was it that Congress was urged to pass an old-age pension-bill, the Department coming into the matter only when it became clear that in spite of the approach of a Presidential election there was to be much difficulty about getting the bill enacted, and why do you say in your explanation or defence of the order: "It is an unwritten law that no old soldier shall go to the poor-house whether his disabilities are of service origin or not"? If the written law, the statute of June 27, 1890, protects the soldiers from disabilities not of service origin as you claim in the first part of your letter, why do you afterward rest your case upon a statement of the unwritten law? In that unwritten-law paragraph I think you have unconsciously given away the whole The secret is revealed in that phrase. I do not doubt the good faith of the Department or of the President, and do not think they were moved by any conscious intent to usurp legislative power, but in their subconsciousness, all the time, Order 78 was not in pursuance of the statute, but of the unwritten law you refer Now, it is precisely this unwrittenlaw business that we object to. It is simply another name for Executive Legislation. All the laws passed by Congress are written, and Congress is the only authorized law-maker under our Constitution.

I am sorry you do not speak of another point raised in the pension part of my letter to the President. Your contention on the service-origin point might be admitted without justifying Order 78 in the least degree. It is vitally defective for a reason entirely independent of the origin of the disability. Whatever may be thought of the service-disability question, the law we are discussing (the Disability Act, June 27, 1890) is perfectly clear on one point, namely, that to entitle anyone to a pension he must be actually unable to earn a support. The disability must be such as to "incapacitate him from the performance of manual labor in such a degree as to render him unable to earn a support." Now Order 78 says:

"In the adjudication of pension claims under said act of June 27, 1890, as amended, it shall be taken and considered as an evidential fact, if the contrary does not appear, and if all other legal requirements are properly met, that when a claimant has passed the age of sixty-two years he is disabled one-half in ability to perform manual labor, and is entitled to be rated at \$6 per month; after sixty-five years, at \$8 per month; after sixty-eight years, at \$10 per month, and after seventy years, at \$12 per month."

In other words, old age is to be deemed a disability whether the person is able to earn a support or not. Is it not so? If he were really disabled at sixty-two, sixty-five, sixty-eight, or seventy, he would have his pension under the statute according to your own statement.

It follows from your interpretation of the law that no order was necessary for real disability, but only for fictitious disability, a condition outside of and contrary to the law. The statute contemplated and was based upon need. The Order gives the pension whether it is needed or not. The Order is in clear opposition to the law, not merely beyond its limits, but a reversal or nullification of its most vital provision. The Order is not an interpretation of the law, but an absolute violation of both its letter and its spirit.

New light may come that will put a different face on the matter, but in the

light of the facts so far known to me, I cannot but feel that Order 78 should open with some such words as the following:

"Be it enacted by the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Interior in Legislative Session assembled" or "Be it enacted by the President of the United States in Legislative Session assembled, by and with the advice and consent of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Pensions, that whereas Congress has neglected and refused to pass the old-age pension-bill, therefore, sixty-two years shall be decreed as one-half disability within the law; sixtyfive years as two-thirds disability; sixtyeight years, as five-sixths disability; and seventy years as complete disability; and the corresponding pensions paid whether there be any real disability or incapacity to earn support or not, anything in the law to the contrary notwithstanding, Executive Orders from this date on being decreed to amend, supersede, annul, repeal, or otherwise dispose of legislation enacted by Congress, in such manner and degree as may be determined by his Majesty the President of the United States, and their Assistant Majesties of the Cabinet."

Every decent man who risked his life for his country should have a pension when he needs it. No old soldier should be allowed to go to the poor-house, or any other old person for that matter. Industrial veterans who have built their best years into the country's prosperity are entitled to pensions as well as military veterans. But in neither case has the President of the United States a right to grant such pensions. It must be done by Congress in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution. The value of the end sought cannot atone for the wrongful and dangerous method of its attainment.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

### MATTHEW ARNOLD: "A HEALING AND RECONCILING INFLUENCE"?

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT T. KERLIN, M.A.

IT IS NOW just a generation since Matthew Arnold's first essays in theology and biblical criticism were published. How does it stand with him as a factor in the thought of to-day? Is he, as he desired to be, "a healing and recon-

ciling influence"?

When he was a lad of eleven years, his father in a letter to the family wrote: "May God grant to my sons if they grow to manhood, an unshaken love of truth, and a firm resolution to follow it for themselves with an intense abhorrence of all parties, save the one tie which binds them to the party of Christ against wickedness." There is a virtue in a father's prayer, which tends to bring about, as prophecy proverbially does, its own fulfilment. Independence at any rate, was a masterful trait in the character of Dr. Arnold's eldest son. This son was the true spiritual offspring of his father. He in truth belongs to no party but the party of Christ, the party of enlightenment and of progress. The Arnold of the Essays in Criticism, of the Poems, of Literature and Dogma, is of the same mental temperament, the same self-reliant, independent spirit, the same courage and the same faith, the same breadth and comprehensiveness, as the Arnold of Rugby, the Arnold of the alarming theological and political pamphlets, the Arnold of the bold and novel theories of the interpretation of Scripture. To build upon the foundation laid by his father, to carry his father's speculative beginnings out to their legitimate, their inevitable conclusions, was the masteraim of the son. Devotedly reverencing his father's memory, the son was constantly testing his conduct and his work by the standards which he believed Arnold of Rugby would approve. He strove to be as a spiritual force, as an enlightening influence, the successor of his father. His work was by himself regarded as the fulfilment of his father's. Rightly understood, it is so.

Dr. Arnold, for his day, was a liberal thinker in religious matters. He was even "startling." He belonged to no party, political or theological, for, as he said, no party would claim him. He was assailed for heterodoxy-he was guilty of inculcating the principle which is the root of all heresies, the principle of liberty and of self-reliance in thinking out each one for himself, his way to truth. To his sons he left both precept and example. And one of them, one in whom the spirit of Rugby was embodied, became one of the chief intellectual forces of the nineteenth century. It was as if the mind of Dr. Arnold had been reincarnated and sent back to earth to lead another generation forward to new positions of more enlightened thought.

To-day, in all matters wherein Dr. Arnold was heretical, the thinking part of the Christian world has gone far beyond his then advanced positions. We of to-day wonder that these so reasonable views could have aroused such alarm and called forth such heated denunciations, -such, in spite of hierarchical obstruction, has been the advance, in respect to reasonableness and light, of the Christian world during the last three-quarters of a century. But how stands it with the son? Arnold of Rugby, before his untimely death, in 1824, lived long enough to see his triumph, to know his doctrines were conquering. But the author of Literature and Dogma, in his endeavor to gain still more advanced positions, faced even severer conflicts than his father had fought out. The results are somewhat different, it may be, but the honor of the protagonists in the successive

conflicts is the same.

en-and-a-half volumes, come under the category of Criticism. But by virtue of

his thorough-going works, this department of literature now possesses a dignity it never had before, and the term "criticism" has a vastly-enriched, enlarged, and

more honored significance.

His conception of the function of criticism will afford us a starting point for an exposition of his doctrine of culture, his estimate of the function and value of literature, and his views on religion. By giving our attention to his utterances on these four great concerns of the human mind—Criticism, Culture, Literature, Religion—we shall get before us the ideas for which Arnold preëminently stands and by which he is distinguished.

Then in his earliest prose work (1865)

Then in his earliest prose work (1865) Arnold wrote: "Criticism tends to establish an order of ideas, if not absolutely true, yet true by comparison with that which it displaces; to make the best ideas prevail. Presently these new ideas reach society, the touch of truth is the touch of life, and there is a stir and growth come the creative epochs of literature." Then, in language now familiar to everybody, he thus describes the great service of criticism: "Its business is to know the best that has been thought and said in the world and by making this known to create a current of true and fresh ideas."

True is this in the sphere of politics, of education, of literature, and of religion. With this conception of the function and efficiency of criticism Arnold took up the questions which were before his contemporaries in every field where sounder principles seemed required. In this work, furthermore, he strictly followed his own doctrine that criticism must be absolutely and entirely independent, disinterested, leaving alone all questions of practical consequences and applications. These warp its judgment, stifle its freedom. Each sect, each party, each class, makes criticism subservient to its particular interests. Instead of a critic, a judge, one becomes an advocate. "The critic must

We believe it can be said that while the churches do not accept and proclaim the views of Matthew Arnold, yet a large part, and that the really serious and intelligent part of the Christian world, hold with him in almost all essential respects. He is recognized by us to be a true Spokesman, in matters of religion and culture, of the age in which we live. Readers of his books will agree with this view, and they alone matter. Readers of narrowly-sectarian papers probably will disagree, but only those, I repeat, who have studied the writings of the man with open and honest minds merit consideration in any degree. Some of us have found Matthew Arnold's writings a source of light and strength to us. He has been a help against unbelief, a foe of despair. And even when he failed to convince us, or to help us through our difficulties, we still were obliged to acknowledge the ability, the candor, the honesty of purpose of the man who had applied himself to so great tasks.

But it would be too narrow a view of Matthew Arnold to think of him only as a critic of religion. There was no department of life, no institution of society, no activity of the mind, which did not engage his thought and upon which he has not left us some well-considered utterance, some masterly essay, after his judicious

and impressive manner.

After he had given to the world a body of poetry sufficient in quantity and in quality to rank him as one of the three or four chief poets of the Victorian era, he turned to prose as a more suitable means of achieving the results which the conditions of his age, as he understood those conditions, called for. Information, clear intelligence, right aims, and sound guiding principles, he discerned, were the need of the English nation. He set himself, with as splendid an equipment as ever a public teacher possessed, to the arduous task of supplying these. His chosen medium of expression for this purpose was rightly prose, and he created a style all his own,—an incisive, luminous, and effective style. His prose writings, a dozkeep out of the region of immediate practice in the political, social, humanitarian sphere, if he wants to make a beginning for that more free speculative treatment of things, which may perhaps one day make its benefits felt even in this sphere, but in a natural and thence irresistible manner."

Therefore Arnold set himself to fulfil what he conceived to be the high mission of criticism: "The disinterested endeavor to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world, and thus to establish a current of fresh and true ideas." The end attained by criticism, most comprehensively stated is culture, culture as a means towards "rendering an intelligent being yet more intelligent," and "making reason and the will of God prevail." Inasmuch as Arnold has been often called the "Apostle of Culture" we should seek to get his own conception of the nature and scope and aim of culture. Therefore, in recommending culture as the sure and efficient help out of the difficulties of his time, this is what Arnold actually recommends: "Culture," he says, "is the pursuit, the study of perfection both for ourselves and for mankind. It has its origin in the love of perfection: its aim, in its first intention, is the desire to augment the excellence of our nature, 'to render an intelligent being yet more intelligent': and in the second view of it, its motto is, 'to make reason and the will of God prevail'." Agreeing with religion, it "is inward spiritual activity, having for its characters increased light, increased life, increased sympathy." It is not therefore "a smattering of Greek and Latin," as scorners say. It is an enrichment of life, enlightenment, enlargement, spiritual power. Religion gives its sanction to culture; and not only so, but has indeed the same aim. But culture has a broader scope, a freer activity. It seeks to attain its end, the total perfection of character, "through all the voices of human experience, art, science, poetry, philosophy, and history, as well as religion." Culture places human perfection, as does religion, in an internal condition: "In the everincreasing efficacy and in the general harmonious expansion of those gifts of thought and feeling, which make the peculiar dignity, wealth, and happiness of human nature." It is the surest defence and ally of religion: "Culture disinterestedly seeking in its aim at perfection to see things as they really are, shows us how worthy and divine a thing is the religious side in man, though it is not the whole of man. But while recognizing the grandeur of the religious side in man, culture yet makes us also eschew an inadequate conception of man's totality."

The most frequent charge against culture is that it is selfish. But is this charge just? It would not be just to accuse religion of selfishness on the ground that many of its professors are conspicuously selfish in their ideas and their practices. The true conception of culture as of religion-and both require defending against false representatives-precludes the idea of selfishness. "Perfection as culture conceives it," says Arnold, "is not possible while the individual remains isolated. The individual is required, under pain of being stunted and enfeebled in his own development if he disobeys, to carry others along with him in his march toward perfection, to be continually doing all he can to enlarge and increase the volume of the human stream sweeping thitherward."

On this matter of the unselfishness of the true spirit of culture Arnold is explicit and emphatic. To the detractors of culture, betraying, by their misrepresentations and their loss of temper in debate, the absence of just those qualities which Arnold praises and himself exemplifies—sweetness and light-he answers: "Culture hates hatred; culture has one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light. It has one even yet greater-the passion for making them prevail. It is not satisfied till we all come to a perfect man; it knows that the sweetness and light of the few must be imperfect until the raw and unkindled masses of humanity are touched with sweetness and light." His doctrines, misunderstood or wilfully distorted,

brought upon him sneers and ridicule. He was called a "kid-gloved high-priest of culture" a "spurious" and an "elegant" Jeremiah. He was reproached with preaching the doctrine of "cultivated inaction," and of "trifling with esthetic and poetical fancies" while things were going to wrack. To us who know the seriousness of the man and who discern the eminent need, in every generation, of just such calm, judicious work as he was doing, he seems quite other than a "kid-gloved high-priest of culture" or an "elegant and spurious Jeremiah." No man trifled less with any sort of fancies.

In The Grand Chartreuse he writes:

"For rigorous teachers seized my youth, And purged its faith, and trimmed its fire, Show'd me the high, white star of truth And bade me gaze, and there aspire."

Again, in Rugby Chapel, he says:

"And there are some who a thirst Ardent, unquenchable, fires, Not with the crowd to be spent, Not without aim to go round In an eddy of purposeless dust, Effort unmeaning and vain. Ah yes! some of us strive Not without action to die Fruitless, but something to snatch From dull oblivion, nor all Glut the devouring grave!"

His answer to the charge of teaching "cultivated inaction" is, thirty-five years of arduous labor as lay inspector of Drudgery this of the most schools. ungracious, soul-quenching kind. The third greatest poet of the time spent his energies upon inspecting schools, reading examination papers, making school-reports, and writing the plainest of prose tracts and essays on questions of the day. At such a man were the taunts of unlearned, ill-tempered and obstructive sectarians tossed like mud-balls. These zealots and bigots complain that this "kid-gloved high-priest of culture" will not join their societies for the improvement of the human race. They would make a partisan of him, after their own pattern. He stands aloof, coldy critical, indifferent, as they think. So every self-poised man appears to those whose zeal outstrips their knowledge. In the rougher and coarser movements going on around him these sectarians complain that Arnold will take no part. He is a spurious, an elegant Jeremiah! "But what," he answers, unruffled, "what if rough and coarse action, ill-calculated action, action with insufficient light, is, and has for a long time been, our bane? What if our urgent want now is not to act at any price, but rather to lay in a stock of light for our difficulties?"

Such a calm, lucid suggestion produces thoughtfulness in an open mind. His luminous and thorough-going exposition produces conviction. We perceive that Arnold sees clearly, while the majority of those throwing mud-balls at him see cloudily. He acts with deliberation and reason, with a set purpose, and toward an end which he understands. His assailants act like the mob at Ephesus, shouting all the more for their idols. Indeed Matthew Arnold's calmness, self-possession, and telling force of expression, as he moved steadily towards inescapable conclusions, must have been extremely provoking to his confused adversaries.

Odium theologicum of their sort they might have been able to endure from him: they could have rendered like for like. But his sweet reasonableness they could not endure: they were unable to reciprocate

Despite sneers, Arnold continued in perfect serenity, through a quarter of a century, putting into the clearest and most convincing prose the ideas which he considered to be the most important for his age. And that, too, with hopefulness. "Is not the close and bounded intellectual horizon within which we have long lived and moved now lifting up, and are not new lights finding free passage to shine in upon us?" Again he writes: "The

times are wonderful, and will be still more so; and one would not willingly lose by negligence, self-mismanagement, and want of patience what power one has of working in them and having an influence on them."

It was reproachfully said of Dr. Arnold that, with Coleridge, he had "found and shown the rat-hole in the temple." Pious folk, but knowing little of the safeness of truth, looked upon this as an unforgivable sin. What God had caused to be, they would cause to be concealed. This may be piety but it is essential unbelief. I have said the spirit of the father was in the son. Arnold the school-inspector no less than Arnold the head-master waged his battle for a pure faith and a surer foundation of religion. They were equally assailed as the enemies of religion, the destroyers of its institutions. In the preface to God and The Bible Matthew Arnold wrote: "Literature and Dogma had altogether for its object, and so too has the present work, to show the truth and necessity of Christianity, and its power and charm for the heart, mind and imagination of man, even though the preternatural, which is now its popular sanction, should have to be given up.

A comprehension of the change that had come over men's ways of thinking in the middle portion of the nineteenth century, together with his knowledge of the human spirit gained from a wide acquaintance with literature, brought him to this conclusion: "Two things about the Christian religion must surely be clear to anybody with eyes in his head. One is, that men cannot do without it; the other, that they cannot do with it as it is." He would defend Christianity against such of its assailants as the brilliant mathematician Professor Clifford, who calls it "that awful plague which has destroyed two civilizations and but barely failed to slay such promise of good as is now struggling to live amongst men." In a familiar letter in 1870 he expresses his desire "to be a healing and a reconciling influence." A few years later he writes: "It will more and more become evident how entirely religious is the work I have done in *Literature and Dogma*."

In the preface to this book he had given utterance to some startling judgments upon the religious situation of the times: startling judgments to be followed by still more startling criticisms of the Bible and of current religion. "An inevitable revolution, of which we all recognize the beginnings and signs, but which has already spread, perhaps, farther than most of us think, is befalling the religion in which we have been brought up." This is the sentence with which Literature and Dogma opens. He proceeds shortly to quote the following from a workingman's letter: "Despite the efforts of the churches, the speculations of the day are working their way down among the people, many of whom are asking for the reason and authority for the things they have been taught to believe." The author of this epoch-marking book, which undertakes the momentous task of expounding a sure way of faith, regrets the abandonment of the Bible and of religion, he affirms, as much as the clergy can regret it. But what remedy is there? "To reënthrone the Bible as explained by our current theology, whether learned or popular, is absolutely and forever impossible! as impossible as to restore the feudal system or the belief in witches." The horizon has lifted up. Men's views have broadened. Even workingmen are demanding "reason and authority." The aim of Literature and Dogma is to put the right construction upon the Bible and thus to ensure the Bible its continued influence.

And what is necessary to the right understanding of the Bible? Culture, an acquaintance with the history of the human spirit, a wide knowledge of other sacred books. The Bible is literature, not dogma. It follows the method of poetry. "To understand that the language of the Bible is fluid, passing, and literary, not rigid, fixed, and scientific, is the first step toward a right understanding of the Bible."

In this view Arnold is absolutely sound. Exegetes however, have commonly proceeded upon a contrary view and have thereby created dogma out of literature, dead theology out of living, glowing oratory and poetry. Then again, the sectaries would narrow the scope of culture, of education, and of intellectual life. They would confine men exclusively to the Bible and to a rigid, bold interpretation of its poetry as fact, understanding its large figurative manner as the definite statement of dogma. The British and Foreign School Society makes its watchword: "The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible!" This is nothing short of bibliolatry. Such a sentiment is more in accord with the genius of Mohammedanism than with the spirit of Christianity. "Knowing the best that has been thought and said in the world," a large acquaintance with the activities of the human spirit and with its achievements in many ages and countries, will make manifest that no one can take upon his lips this watchword without self-stulification. Arnold characterizes the theology of his time as "mechanical and materializing," "It does not trace God in history," hence its bibliolatry and hence its belief in miracles. It has but a scanty sense of the life of humanity, hence its misreading of the documents of religion. "He that cannot watch the God of the Bible, and the salvation of the Bible, gradually and on an immense scale discovering themselves and becoming, will insist on seeing them ready made and in such precise and reduced dimensions as may suit his narrow mind."

Arnold's confidence in the intellectual progress of humanity is clearly expressed: "The free-thinking of one age is the common-sense of the next, and the Christian world will certainly learn to transform beliefs which it now thinks to be untransformable." His efforts were prompted by the noblest of motives and guided by the soundest reasoning. He would purge Christianity of its dross, and make it again the mighty force it once was in the world for the government of men's lives.

He would re-attach men's affections to it, re-kindle their imagination by it, re-enlist their interest for it.

"The power of Christianity has been in the immense emotion which it has excited; in its engaging, for the government of man's conduct, the mighty forces of love, reverence, gratitude, hope, pity, awe."

A revolution is taking place,—nay, has already taken place. As Michelet writes of the French Revolution: "La révolution est faite dans la haute région des esprits; elle est en train de s'accomplir dans l'ame du peuple." Arnold would aid this inevitable revolution by calling in reason and light, that it may not be ill-guided, that it may lead mankind forward to their proper goal.

For the enlightenment needed, he directs men to literature. For the help which religion once gave, but no longer gives, he turns to poetry. The famous Essay on Poetry opens with these memorable words:

"The future of poetry is immense, because in poetry, where it is worthy of its high destinies, our race, as time goes on, will find an ever-surer and surer stay. There is not a creed which is not shaken, not an accredited dogma which is not shown to be questionable, not a received tradition which does not threaten to dissolve. Our religion has materialized itself in the fact, in the supposed fact; it has attached its emotion to the fact, and now the fact is failing it. But for poetry the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion, of divine illusion. Poetry attaches its emotion to the idea; the idea is the fact. The strongest part of our religion to-day is its unconscious poetry."

Therefore he concludes: "More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us. Without poetry our science will appear incomplete, and most of what passes now with us for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry." Now this view will appear reasonable or ridiculous according to the conception we have of poetry. Poetry has always been indeed a chief consolation, light, and source of strength to men. The prophets were in reality poets; we read them now, when we read them properly, as poets, poets of wonderful ethical insight and moral genius. But this view has not yet grown common, therefore the whole Bible is neglected. To a considerable number of souls—and they the salt of the earth-the Divine Comedy is infinitely more valuable as an aid to the spiritual life than large portions of the Jewish Scriptures. It is unquestionable that thousands in our own time who have ceased to turn to the Bible for spiritual help have gone to Tennyson, to Browning, to Matthew Arnold. Of Arnold's influence it remains to speak briefly. From his letters written to his mother and his sisters we gather our chief items. He writes in 1869: "However much I may be attacked, my manner of writing is certainly one that takes hold of the people and proves effective." Later: "I am really surprised myself at the testimonies I continually receive to the influence which my writings are gaining." To his mother in the same year he wrote, relative to her approval of St. Paul and Protestantism: "I was much interested and touched by your letter, showing your willingness still, as always, to receive and comprehend what is new, instead of shutting your mind against it."

Some years later (1876) when he had heard that such persons as Gladstone, George Eliot, and Carlyle had professed great admiration for his books and when by the most intelligent among all classes, including the clergy, he was being quoted, he wrote: "It is a great and solid satisfaction, at fifty, to find one's work, the fruit of so many years of isolated reflection and labor, getting recognition amongst those whose judgment passes for the most valuable." This was all said of his prose writings. His poetry was slower

in coming to its own. But he waited in confidence and it conquered. "My poems represent on the whole," he wrote in 1869, "the main movement of the mind of the last quarter of a century, and thus they will probably have their day as people become conscious to themselves of what that movement of mind is, and interested in the literary productions which reflect it." George Eliot seven years later declared that of all modern poetry, his was that which kept constantly growing upon The Bishop of Derry said that it was the center of his intellectual life. By 1878, twenty years after he had turned from poetry to prose, a high rank for Arnold as a poet was assured. "It is curious," he writes in that year, "how the public is beginning to take them (his poems) to its bosom after long years of comparative neglect. The wave of thought and change has rolled on until people begin to find a significance and attraction in what had none for them formerly."

But will the Christian world—this is the final question, and it remains to be asked-will the Christian world ever bring itself to an acceptance of Matthew Arnold's "Eternal Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness"? Such a result is not incredible. Anthropomorphism is already obsolescent. It is inevitably doomed, for it is barbarous. "I beseech you," cried the Bampton lecturer, in an Oxford pulpit, "I bessech you, brethren, by the mercies of Christ, to hold fast the integrity of your anthropomorphism." But against the advance of a spiritual religion, which science is fostering and guiding, a religion that is largely banished from the churches, but which is growing more and more prevalent, anthropomorphism cannot stand. It will still be championed by the clergy, nay, they will go to wonderful extremes in trying to prop up and stay the fast-crumbling and ruinous fabric of medieval theology. A bishop of a very large American sect will proclaim, in a book on The Personality of the Holy Spirit, such an argument as

the following for the said thesis: "Perhaps the most notable proof of the personality of the Holy Spirit is his contribution to the literature of the world. He was the author of letters, and the earliest of the world's literature, as certainly the most influential, was that which came to us from the world's first and greatest Thinker. His first theme was what we might expect—the poem of creation, as he sings of what none other can more than imagine, but of what he was witness." That utterance came from this distinguished cleric-incredible as it may seem-in all seriousness: and it is quoted by the Dean of the theological department of Vanderbilt University in a spirit of admiration. Let us consider this astonishing "proof." It makes the Holy Ghost a contributor to the literature of the world: "The author of letters," "The first and greatest Thinker." He gave the world "its earliest and most influential literature." After this it is easy for one to fancy one hears the

bishop cry: "My brethren, I beseech you, by these proofs of the personality of the Holy Ghost, hold fast to the integrity of

your anthropomorphism."

From such confusion, we turn to the philosophy of Herbert Spencer in search of something whereon the mind may stay itself. This is what we find: "Amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty, that he (man) is ever in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy. from which all things proceed."\* We say that with this affirmative, which is substantially one, as far as it goes, with Matthew Arnold's, the wisest men from Plato down, are in agreement. But with this tritheism of the bishop we do not know what we can do, except put it upon the shelf with other things that were, but which can never be again.

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## CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM IN ANGLO-SAXON HISTORY AND ITS MEANING TO CIVILIZATION.

"THE REFORM PRESERVATIVE OF REFORMS."

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ON THE several planks in the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties, respectively, different persons will place importance according to their interest or their information. The Monetary standard, the Race question, Imperialism, the Trusts, etc., will each have its adherents. But to the Reformer none will compare with the planks on Civil-Service. For without it no reform is permanent, and with it all reforms are possible.

And of all the subjects touched on in the two platforms there is none on which not only the general public, but the average statesman, is so ignorant or misinformed. A brief review of its progress abroad and at home is therefore not only desirable but necessary.

The unreformed Civil-Service in both Great Britain and the United States was founded on the theory of feudal times that public offices were the property of the ruler, and upon this theory they were filled for his benefit, and without regard for the fitness of the officer, or the public welfare.

The forty-fifth article of Magna Charta has therefore been aptly styled, "the first Civil-Service rule." By that article, the King engaged not to make any justices,

\* Religion: A Retrospect and Prospect, p. 35.

constables, sheriffs or bailiffs but such as know the law of the realm. But for a long period there was no public opinion. and much less any law, that condemned the use or abuse of the appointing power. Probably the first instance of the coercive power of such a public opinion was early in the thirteenth century, when the voice of the nation was expressed strongly in favor of Reform, and the King was compelled to choose his subordinate ministers with some reference to their capacity for business. For in the "ruder ages of British history" all the powers of Government were prostituted "to extort the earnings and hold down in poverty and ignorance the masses of the people; to fill the treasuries, to minister to the vices and luxuries. and to fight the battles of kings."

The reigns of the Plantagenets and Tudors may be regarded as the palmy days of the despotic spoils-system. It was a time when a king could "confer two hundred manors upon a brother," and when charters and monopolies were tossed by him to some great officer in a moment of good nature, and as arbitrarily revoked in a fit of anger or drunkenness. And while it is a fact that at an early date offices in Great Britain became hereditary, this did not rise from any sense of Reform, but from the desire to make their market value in the first instance the greater. Hence arose the spirit which supported a heredi-

tary crown and nobility.

But not only offices and charters, but "the highest human function,-that of administering justice,"-was openly sold for money. This accounts for the clause found in Magna Charta, that: "No man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or outlawed, or exiled, or anywise destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay right or justice." In fact, at the time Civil-Service Reform commenced in England, every possible exercise of official authority, by every grade of officials, from the lowest to the highest, was on the market as a merchandise. And in France the purchase of offices was legalized, a bureau opened for their sale, and the Kings, in order to raise money, made the *judicial offices* in Parliament saleable.

The persons who sanctioned all this corruption, moreover, were the wealthy and educated classes; so that the cause of administrative reform was necessarily the cause of the "common people." So much so that there were two great popular uprisings, one in the thirteenth, and another in the fourteenth century, owing to the "outrageous corruption and oppression

of the spoils-system."

But in the generation of Wyckliffe following, great ideas were beginning to stir the heart of England, and there were brave and true utterances, the predecessors of the pamphlets of Milton and Burke. "Foreign wars, made more disastrous by incompetent officers, had led to crushing taxation"; and "lordly officials interfered with the freedom of elections." A Parliament was called and the great offenders were impeached and removed from office. A grand inquest of abuses was ordered through a High Commission. But the great undertaking was never completed.

Parliament, however, having little patronage, stood boldly forth for Reform. But it is noticeable that it exerted its influence from the outset to secure patronage for itself. As its power increased, there was a growing abuse of patronage, and usurpation of Executive power, until Parliament became more corrupt even than the Executive. "At every stage corruption has prevailed, in either department, in the proportion that it has controlled patronage." The most notable clause of the statute passed by this Parliament was that: "None shall obtain office by suit or for reward, but upon desert."

But in a milder and more secret form the spoils-system became again supreme; and "continued wars, both foreign and domestic, aided its growth." Public opinion, however, grew apace, and feudalism and despotism lost their strength and terrors. But the spoils-system, though mitigated, survived till the time of Cromwell. Indeed Civil-Service principles could be carried into effect only when the base of Power in the State had changed; and when liberty had increased and education become extended.

There flourished under the Plantagenets and Tudors "a spoils-system of favoritism, influence, nepotism and venality, which frowned on personal merit and scorned the idea of official responsibility." This is necessarily the case under arbitrary monarchy, where "all authority comes from above," and "the ruling force is fear." The spoils-system is the "natural outgrowth of despotism and aristocracy," and "not a republican agency of government." For this reason when the American patriots denounced George III. because "he made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries," and for other similar abuses, they really assailed the theory of arbitrary government. Those persons, therefore, who regard the spoils-system as original and congenial in our institutions are wholly at fault; in fact, "our spoilssystem is only a faint reproduction, in an uncongenial age and government, of vicious methods, of which the coarse and more corrupt originals are to be found in the most despotic periods of British history." Indeed it is the only part of our system which Henry VIII., or Elizabeth, or James II., or George III. would like. Under its debasing influence "Parliament became little more than a body of servile placemen, named by the King and the great nobles, to endorse their policy and pay their henchmen and relatives in office."

The demand for Reform first made itself greatly felt in the election of 1614 which brought such men as Pym and Eliot into Parliament. The great law called the "Petition of Right," was an expression of the reform-spirit, and its prinpal demand was "that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament." But it was Cromwell who gave "the first blow to the despotic spoilssystem which was heavy enough to break in its framework." The necessities of the times, however, and his own arbitrary temper induced him to substitute a vigorous "partisan-system" later; but, notwithstanding his mighty grasp, as he went on under it, his power steadily declined, and "upon his decease, his followers melted away." Thus "the greatest genius for government England ever produced was not able, through the most skillful use of patronage, to leave gratitude enough behind him to save his own bones from being dragged from the grave and exposed on a gibbet to the jeers of the Royalists." However, under his regime, the number of those who thought and acted boldly upon political questions was permanently increased, and the old system lost much of its prestige, which it never regained.

Profound depths of corruption and villainly followed the Restoration. Charles II. declared "he would not have a company of fellows looking into his actions and examining his ministers and accounts," meaning by "fellows," members of Parliament. It was in this reign that the systematic buying of votes began and it spread rapidly. A minister of Charles II. declared that to pocket the bribes, members flocked round him like "so many jackdaws for cheese." It is unnecessary to say that Parliament made no serious attempts at reform in 'this reign.

From Charles II. to James II. the short step is downward "from one corrupt administration, that was graceful and cautious, to another that was brutal and reckless." The latter had no higher conception of the appointing power than to make it "the instrument of his vengence, his vanity, his lust, and his bigoted ambition." He removed even judges and justices at will, until "the packed Judges of the Court of King's Bench gave, as a matter

of course, judgment in favor of the Crown." But all this use of patronage and spoils, of threats and solicitation, failed to increase his power. An angry people hurried the infamous Jeffreys to the Tower and drove James into exile.

When William III. came to the throne, the official life of England was at the lowest stage of degradation it had ever reached. With rare exception all those in office and all those connected with the Court or politics were seething sources of corruption. "The very fact of a man being a public officer or a politician brought a suspicion upon his integrity and his manhood." But the Bill of Rights exacted of him guaranteed certain reforms and others were soon enacted into law. Chief among them were the freedom of election of members of Parliament, and the raising of the Judiciary above Executive interference. The earlier Civil-Service rules related mainly to "qualifications for appointment"; but under William, "independence was secured in the proper discharge of duty while in office."

The King, in an endeavor to harmonize contending factions, took opposing elements into his Council. He soon found, however, that even a small body, which contained antagonistic elements, could not successfully exercise Executive power. Accordingly, he selected from the majority in Parliament, a small number, since called the Cabinet, under whose direction he should carry on the Government. This important change was the origin of political parties, and of party government. But the change also naturally and speedily led to the partisan-system of appointment to office. It went into effect practically in 1693, and was continued, with some modifications, until 1853, when the first elements of the "Merit-System" were formally introduced.

Under the party-system, the power of the House of Commons increased, and, of course, its patronage; parliamentary elections became corrupt, and the votes of members became venal, till we find the greater corruption in connection with Parliament than with the Executive. It soon became clear that "the only hope of reform was in a coercive influence, from a higher public opinion, to be developed outside Official Circles." Fortunately there were a number of eminent men then living who gave their talents to political literature. Such were Swift, Bolingbroke, Prior, Addison, Steele and Defoe. The reforming sentiment to which these times gave utterance acquired a vast power when proclaimed by Burke and Chatham in the next generation.

By this time corruption had reached such a point that there were many who imagined that they had certainly gained little by exchanging an arbitrary King for a corrupt and often tyrannical Parliament. Nor were justice and liberty "much more cared for by an arbitrary party majority than by an arbitrary King and nobility.' Members of Parliament claimed that the proceedings of their own body were a part of their own secrets, as to which it was an impertinence for the people to seek any information. And it was not till the close of the reign of George III., after a long and dangerous struggle, that the right of printing debates in Parliament was won by the English people. During the struggle several reporters were whipped by the hangman, and others compelled to apologize on their knees at the bar of the House, all for having written in opposition to the party majority of the hour. The everwidening circle of corruption had spread from Parliament to the Constituencies. and tainted all the approaches to political life. Crime and immorality of every description were rapidly increasing. the watchmen and constables were so utterly inefficient, that one was forced to travel "even at noon, as if one were going to battle."

George III. and his favorites adhered to the spoil-system as long as possible. Not only had the Government servile henchmen at every desk, but paid spies everywhere. Spies followed Wilkes "dogging his steps like shadows." The high officials of George III. claimed the right to break open and read the letters of their opponents. Even Mr. Pitt complained that his correspondence with his family was constantly ransacked in the Post-Office. The same tyrants sought to make the public press their servant or their victim. Offices were multiplied abroad, and America became for years the "hospital of England." Infants in the cradle were endowed with colonial appointments, to be executed through life by convenient deputies.

Lord North's administration fell in 1782, four months after the fall of Yorktown. It was succeeded by that of Lord Rockingham, the first ministry distinctly pledged to administrative reform. And it is interesting to notice that the leading friends of reform were also the friends of America,—Rockingdam, Burke, Chatham, Conway, Barre, and others less dis-

tinguished.

With the fall of Lord Bute, the last phase of the spoils-system in English politics was reached, and the era of practical reform opened. The character and practical methods of the administration became a great issue before the people, and the famous letters of Junius began to appear. From that time administration has been converted into a science which all the leading statesmen have studied. The struggle for reform was opened in Parliament by Chatham in 1766, the same year in which he openly "rejoiced that Amer-Mr. Burke bent the ica had resisted." whole force of his mind "to the reduction of that corrupt influence which is, in itself, the perennial spring of all prodigality and of all disorder, which loads us with debt, takes vigor from our army, wisdom from our Council and authority and credit from the more venerable parts of our Constitution." Parliamentary and economical reform became the watchword. The press, suddenly become a political power, voiced the sentiments of the people. Rockingham's policy declared for "independence to America, abolition of offices and the exclusion of contractors from Parliament." Thus the independence of America was of twin-birth with adminis-

trative reform in England.

The partisan-system continued till later. Between 1834 and 1841, during the Melbourne administration, a demand for examinations as a condition for admission to the service, came both from the higher officials and the thoughtful public who held it unjust and demoralizing for members of Parliament to control the power of appointment. At first "pass," and later, in 1853, "competitive" examinations were instituted. It is to be noticed that the initiative for the "Merit-System" came from the Executive, not from Parliament. The latter was simply compelled by the "higher public-opinion" to acquiesce in the reform. The "Merit-System" was perfected in 1870, and now, with the exception of a few score of persons, the civil servants of Great Britain are permanent. It may be added that the disastrous management of the Crimean war was largely brought about by the "lack of official capacity, both in the military and civil administration," due to the spoils-system; and that the South African disasters were due principally to the incompetency of the military officers, who were appointed, and one-fourth of whom were officially declared unfit for their du-

At the creation of the Republic of the United States the absorbing questions concerned rights, liberty and independence. Corruption bred in the daily work of administration, partisan tyranny and debasement growing out of contentions for patronage, office, and power, were almost unknown, and they were but feebly imagined in the first generation. "No nation had, at that time, perfected itself against the evils of corrupt patronage and favoritism in bestowing office."

But that the "spoils-system" was repugnant to our theory of Government is illustrated by the fact that some of the most pernicious and characteristic elements of the original system are made impossible by the Constitution itself. The

granting of titles of nobility, the laws rerespecting the establishment of religion, and other requirements therein prohibited, were not only "bulwarks of the system, but a prolific source of injustice and corruption." But unfortunately the great power of removal from office was left to mere inference; and it is, therefore, without expressed limitation, or safeguard, in the government of the United States. However, for years after the establishment of the Republic, there was no thought of

removal except for cause.

Besides, nowhere in the Constitution is the power of removal affirmatively to be found. That document merely says: "The President may, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint Ambassadors," etc. He is also authorized to fill any vacancy that "may happen" during the recess of the Senate, subject to their subsequent approval. And a clause in the bill introduced during the first session of Congress, giving the President a limited and partial power of removal of the Secretary of the State without the consent of the Senate, met with the most strenuous opposition from the best and ablest men in the House, on the ground: "That the admission by inference of any control, however limited, by the Executive, was anti-republican, and would in time degenerate into control over the freedom of opinion and political rights of all persons in the Civil-Service, and make them slaves and tools of an unscrupulous political party."

The whole number of removals during the first forty years of the government was but seventy-four, an average of less than two for each year. On May 15, 1820, however, the "Tenure-of-Office" act was passed, providing that thereafter, all district-attorneys, etc., "shall be appointed for a term of four years, but shall be removable from office at pleasure." It was intended to promote the election of W. H. Crawford to the Presidency in 1825, and was the first step in the introduction of the "spoils-system," though its natural results were delayed nine years by the uni-

form practice of Monroe and Adams to re-appoint worthy officers.

Mr. Jefferson, writing to Mr. Madison, in 1820, says of this law:

"It will keep in constant excitement all the hungry cormorants for office, render them, as well as those in place, sycophants to their Senators, engage these in eternal intrigue to turn out one and put in another, in cabals to swap work, and make of them what all executive directories become, mere sinks of corruption and faction."

This condition continued to 1829, when the "spoils-system" was inaugurated by Andrew Jackson. A striking feature of his policy was the sweeping removal of minor officials, and filling their places with his partisans.

Henry Clay, in a speech in the Senate in

1832, speaking of the system, said:

"It is a detestable system, drawn from the worst period of the Roman Republic; and if it were to be perpetuated, and if the offices, honors, and dignities of the people were to be put up to a scramble to be decided by the result of every Presidential election, our government and institutions becoming intolerable, would finally end in a despotism as inexorable as that at Constantinople."

It was in reply to this speech that Senator Marcy, of New York, made the oft-quoted statement: "The politicians of the United States see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." It was, however, "not a deliberate statement of policy, carefully considered and formulated, but rather an extemporaneous attempt to parry an unexpected thrust."

The historian Schouler, speaking of

Jackson's administration, says:

"The circle surrounding the old man (Jackson) fed him with gross flattery. All this gave soon the smirch to decent self-respect. Personalism came to tinct-

ure all politics, all policies, all politicians, under his arbitrary and exacting administration; and the painted Jezebel of party patronage seized upon the public trust for her favorites. Such a state of things was sure to breed corruption sooner or later. Prætorian bands showed the first symptoms of Rome's decay; bands of office-holders, united by the necessity of keeping the spoils and salaries from other hands equally ravenous, may prove an early symptom of our own, if the people submit to it."

The spoils-system continued with more or less virulence till the close of President Grant's administration. Civil-Service Reform was a feature of President Hayes' administration, and in pursuance thereof he removed Chester Alan Arthur from the position of Collector of the Port of New York. Mr. Arthur, when President, was, however, a friend of Civil-Service.

In January, 1883, Congress passed a law to prevent the abuse of the appointing power of the officers of the government. The President was authorized to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, three Civil-Service Commissioners, whose duty is to aid the President in preparing suitable rules which shall provide for open competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for the public-service. The first Commissioner appointed was Mr. Dorman B. Eaton. The Commissioners are, however, appointed for only fixed periods, and are removable at the will of the President. This fact, under an administration hostile to the reform, leaves them in a condition of "innocuous desuetude." They do things better in Australia, where the Commission is appointed for life, removable only for cause; and to them all charges against clerks must be referred for consideration and adjudication.

Presidents Cleveland and Harrison were, in general, friendly to the Reform idea. At the close of Mr. Cleveland's second administration, however, he "covered" into the service a large number of

the more highly-paid officials, whose predecessors he himself had removed. This caused a violent reaction, and while Mr. McKinley did not repeal the order, he, for four months after his inauguration, permitted the removal of many of the appointees. And a distinguished author has said: "It was on the best and most efficient men the blow fell heaviest; the spies, talebearers and backbiters often retained their positions."

In pursuance of this reactionary spirit, Mr. McKinley also took from under the Civil-Service some ten thousand positions outside of the City of Washington. In July, 1897, however, he formulated a rule limiting the power of removal, which was amended May 29, 1899. It provided that:

"No removal shall be made from the competitive classified service, except for just cause and for reasons given in writing; and the persons sought to be removed shall have notice and be furnished a copy of such reasons, and be allowed a reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing."

This was a long step in the right direction, but it fell fatally short. The accusers are left to be the judges, and while the incumbents are safe under a just judge it is not against him, but against prejudiced and partial and partisan judges, protection is needed.

The success which attended the application of the "Merit-System" to the Federal Civil-Service has encouraged its application to a number of States and cities in the United States. Speaking of Municipal Reform, in 1898, President McVicker, of the League of American Municipalities, said:

"Such a change involves the necessity of Civil-Service Reform. To my mind it would be suicidal to enlarge the function of municipalities without providing for the thorough application of the Merit-System in appointments, promotions, and removals." We have endeavored to lay bare, in a general way, the most glaring features of the "spoils-system." And now to conclude:

"Mr. Eaton," says a writer in the North American Review, "has demonstrated in his book (which all should read) that Great Britain, at the close of the last century, was sinking under a load of patronage in Church and State, of bribery and corruption, of Parliamentary and royal usurpation, of favoritism, nepotism, and maladministration, by unselected and unfit office-holders: that this deadly system of patronage was so imbedded in and inmeshed with her aristocratic and hierarchical constitution, so tangled up with her royal usages and traditions, so favored by the Church and nobles, and so upheld by the Courts, that the prospect of reform was dark and dreadful beyond comparison."

And Von Holst, writing of conditions here under the "spoils-system," asserts that: "It is only to the astonishing vitality of the people of the United States, and to the altogether unsurpassed and unsurpassable favor of their natural conditions, that the State has not succumbed under the onerous burden and curse."

There has been considerable relief from the "burden and curse," in both Great Britain and the United States, since the above words were written, but much more remains to be done. The abolition of the British House of Lords is a sine qua non, for the bestowal of titles has always been a prolific source of corruption. It besides tends to keep mediocrity and senility in important government positions, and has so militated against the development of ability in the Tory party, that they were forced in the last generation to take Mr.

Disraeli, an ex-radical, as their leader and now are practically dominated by Mr. Chamberlain, another ex-radical, much to the detriment of British institutions in both cases. And even in the race for the House of Commons, young men of ability are handicapped by the presence in the constituency of some scion of the nobility who desires the nomination. In this way men of genius, like Mr. John Morley and Mr. Frederic Harrison, are kept in the back-ground till they are too advanced in years to make a great political reputation, or are never elected to Parliament at all.

In the United States, legal protection against arbitrary promotion, reduction or removal is a sine qua non. No one who has properly entered must be removable, except by "due process of law," even if a constitutional amendment be required. For while a Monroe or an Adams may not take advantage of the arbitrary power, a Jackson is sure to come, who, casting aside all sentiment and all-precedent, will make sweeping changes, and the last condition will be worse than the first. In any event, the ever-present fear of removal will be there, which in itself is ruinous physically, financially and morally.

May we not hope that, as in the past, men were found fearless and conscientious and disinterested enough to work out in the face of almost superhuman difficulties the reforms that have been effected, so in the present and in the future, there will be found in both countries and finally in all countries, men who will bring to perfection Civil-Service Reform, the "Reform preservative of Reforms." For, to end as we began: "Without it, no reform is permanent; and with it, all reforms are possible."

M. F. O'DONOGHUE.
Scientific Library, United States Patent
Office, Washington, D. C.

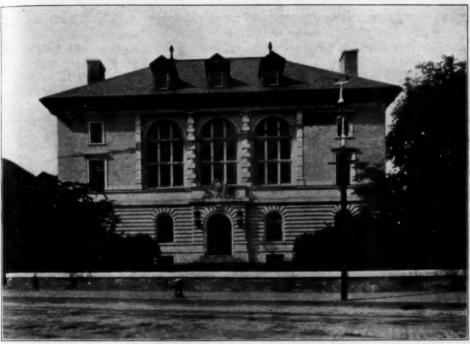


Photo. by Partridge, Boston and Brookline.

BROOKLINE MUNICIPAL BUILDING.

# DEMOCRACY AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT; OR, HOW THE RICHEST TOWN IN THE WORLD IS RULED BY THE REFERENDUM.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I. THE HEEL OF THE DEMOCRATIC ACHILLES.

AMONG the grave problems confronting the American citizen, that of municipal government has recently assumed the proportion of an overshadowing issue. The startling revelations of political debauchery in New York, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Chicago, and St. Louis, and the multitudinous out-croppings of the same evil in smaller cities and towns indicate the presence of wide-spread and ever-increasing corruption, with the inevitable accompaniment of the lowering of the standard of integrity in public

and private life and that moral disintegration that has ever sapped the vitals of a civilization where it has obtained a dominating influence in government. The reign of graft, under a rule of rings, has become so general that the American people have been forced unwillingly to accept as the simple truth the observation of the famous English author and statesman, James Bryce, when he said of our municipal rule: "There is no denying that the government of the cities is the one conspicuous failure in the United States." The corruption of our municipal life has proved to be a moral contagion that has spread rapidly through the body politic,



Photo. by Partridge.

BROOKLINE TOWN-HALL.

Where the People make the Laws for the Municipality.

contaminating state and national life on the one hand and lowering the moral ideals of American citizenship on the other; while through this riot of corruption the tax-payers are being victimized on every hand and the moral sensibilities and patriotic impulses of the various communities are being blunted and deadened.

Nowhere has the failure of democratic government been more marked or startling than in our municipalities, and it is a noticeable fact that this failure has been in proportion as the government has been taken directly from the voters. Where the people have been permitted to govern themselves most completely the evils have been the least; where the opportunity has been denied the people of passing directly on important measures and proposals, the corruption and failure of good government have been most in evidence. The difference between a community governed by the old New England town-meeting system, which embraces the principles of the initiative and referendum, and a city governed under the political boss who operates a partisan machine or a ring of politicians enriched by special privileges and interests, is the difference between popular and free government and a corrupt despotismthe difference between pure democracy and an irresponsible autocracy. say irresponsible autocracy, because we have reached the pass in more than one of our great municipalities where the power of privileged interests or of the party-boss and the unscrupulous party-ma-

chine is so absolute that only their creatures are selected or at least considered in an election. The oft-quoted expression of a Philadelphia politician who spoke by the card in that most ring-ruled and corrupt municipality—"We don't care a d——who is elected; we are going to count our man in"—illustrates one of the most sinister and disquieting conditions present in more than one American municipality to-day.

Mr. Lincoln Steffens in his masterly exposures of corruption in McClure's Magazine, has given detailed accounts of the methods, reduced practically to a science, by which in St. Louis the corrupt Democratic boss, Butler, in collusion with the opposing political ring as well as with

those of his own party, rendered his own success and mastery of the city's affairs absolutely certain, and through which he was enabled to acquire millions of dollars by plundering others as well as the municipality. The exposure made in THE ARENA for July, 1903, by a citizen of Philadelphia and those of Mr. Steffens in dealing with other cities, indicate that similar conditions, although they may not have reached in all cases such scientific precision, prevail in many of the greatest American municipalities to-day. So general have become the exposures of corrupt practices and public spoliation and betrayal of public trusts, and so overwhelming and unanswerable has been the evidence presented that it is no longer necessary to dwell on a condition about the facts of which there is no longer any controversy.

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But the arousing of a people to a realization of the general corruption that has obtained and which has in many instances brought about a practical break-down in democratic government in our municipalities is but the first step in the reclamation and purification of our cities. The next thing that must be accomplished if any fundamentally important results are achieved is the adoption of some definite programme that shall take the place of the system that has debauched and degraded our municipal life, and which shall also more perfectly meet the democratic ideal of government. The known extent of corruption, the general spoliation of the people,\* and the prevalent demoralization of municipal government under present partisan-machine and ring-rule methods make immediate and well-considered action on the part of the people imperative. To close our eyes to prevailing conditions would be to condone offences that are fatal to free government or public morality and to render well-nigh impregnable the power of the corruptors and the corrupted. Nor is it enough to turn the rascals out. We have had altogether too many of those temporary and hysterical spasms of public indignation which ignore fundamental political facts and seek nothing further than the temporary overthrow of some conscienceless ring and the installation of a reform party or an opposition ticket pledged to clean government, but which was usually composed of impractical theorists unschooled or inexperienced in municipal affairs and wanting in knowledge of the history and philosophy of government which would enable them to successfully combat the system that is the fountain-head of the evil. The result in almost every instance has been that either the reform government has adopted machine-methods and has degenerated into a partisan organization little if any better than the ring-rule it overthrew, or the people have wearied of the mistakes of the well-meaning but incompetent reformers and have gone back to the old regime when its masters have pretended to repent and have headed their tickets with persons supposed to be eminently respectable.

The evil lies in the system which obtains in city government—a system which has rendered possible a departure from the principles of democracy and the substitution of autocratic power; sometimes that of a boss, sometimes that of a ring, sometimes that of a partisan machine, but in each case that of an undemocratic power which has thwarted and betrayed the interests of the people whom theoretically it represents and whom in reality it exploits for personal emolument and partisan success.

And in this connection we cannot too solemnly emphasize the fact that in proportion as we have departed from the basic demands of democracy,—in proportion as the people have been removed from immediate discussion of vital measures and participation in the control of their

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;In New York the ring's plunder was at one time estimated as equal to a mortgage of 7.02 per centum on the total value of the real estate of the city, while the like mortgage in Philadelphia's case was 10.06 per cent. In more than one city in this country it may be said that public opinion and the popular will have almost nothing at all to do with the selection of officers."—Limited Town-Meetings, by Alfred D. Chandler.

affairs, has corruption obtained and our municipalities have been plundered and and exploited for the benefit of politicians

and special interests.

Another fact that should be borne in mind is that experiments in government have demonstrated that sound systems and provisions that are inherently democratic, which have proved sufficient to correct grave evils and fatal tendencies in popular government, can be adapted or modified so as to meet the requirements in similar but more extended theaters of activity. All that is required is wise, lofty and singlehearted statesmanship pledged to the success of the highest demands of free government, and an earnest and fixed determination on the part of the conscience-element sufficient to overthrow the efforts of venal political bosses, corrupt party-machines and special interests that are ever seeking to secure without just or adequate compensation privileges that belong to the whole people and that are immensely valuable.

#### II. THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN-MEETING.

Nowhere in the history of American municipalities has government been so free from all taint of corruption or so marked by wisdom and public spirit as in the old New England town-meeting. Here we find one of the happiest and most convincing illustrations of an ideal democratic government in practical operation, for here is found a community as a whole actively interested in the management of public affairs; and through direct discussion and participation in the solution of all the important questions a wholesome public interest is stimulated and maintained. It is interesting to remember that Thomas Jefferson attributed the breakdown of the Embargo Act to the New England system of town-meetings, by which the people as a whole were educated on political affairs and kept in perfect touch with economic issues and were able by public meetings, resolutions and systematic and effective agitation to powerfully influence public opinion far beyond

the confines of the states where these conditions so favorable to democratic government obtain. President Jefferson, though bitterly regretting the failure of the Embargo Act, greatly admired the system of government which made its defeat possible, because in it he saw the perfect outblossoming of the democratic ideal and the potentiality and majesty of an united, educated and alert electorate exercising its sovereign right. In 1816 he wrote:

"How powerfully did we feel the energy of this system in the case of the Embargo. I felt the foundation of the government shake under my feet. . . . There was not an individual in those states whose body was not thrown with all its momentum into action."\*

Jefferson, as Mr. Parton points out, strove long to introduce it into Virginia. The system embraced in the town-meeting, modified to meet more complex and exacting requirements but retaining the vital and fundamental principle-that of Direct Legislation—we hold offers the true solution to the momentous question of honest, clean and efficient municipal government: for here we have a system that is thoroughly democratic and which the history and experience of New England have for centuries justified, while the same principles as applied to state and national government in Switzerland during the last half-century have proved equally effective in achieving the ends of pure, economical and wisely-progressive government, showing that ring-rule and the despotism of bosses and party-machines or of special class-interests can and may be effectively broken up and supplanted by honest government of the people, by the people, for the benefit of the whole community in all departments of civic

#### III. BROOKLINE AS AN OBJECT-LESSON IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Since nothing is so convincing and therefore valuable in the presence of powerful,

<sup>\*</sup> See James Parton's Life of Jefferson.







Photo. by A. C. Rich.

SCENES IN RIVERWAY PARK, BROOKLINE.

shrewd and plausible interests and elements pledged to the present corrupt order as a practical illustration of the workings of a better system, we desire to call the attention of our readers to the operation of the principles of Direct Legislation in municipal affairs as found to-day in Brookline, Massachusetts; for here we have one of the most striking and successful illustrations of government by the people under the town-meeting system to be found in the world, and here we also find a complete refutation of the most plausible and most persistently urged objections to the town-meeting system that its enemies have advanced.

Brookline is said to be the richest town in the world. Last year's assessment was levied on \$87,172,900. The population of the town is estimated by the municipal officers to be 23,500, which we think is a moderate calculation in view of the fact that the poll-assessment was on 6,134 citizens. The town is surrounded by the cities of Boston and Newton. Mr. Alfred D. Chandler, one of the prominent public-spirited citizens of Brookline and an eminent Boston lawyer, thus admirably characterizes this unique example of pure democracy:\*

"No town offers such a demonstration of the elasticity and adaptability of town government as Brookline. It furnishes the clew to help solve the general munici-Its solution will work an pal problem. astonishing improvement in all public administration. How to extend the townmeeting system to municipalities large in population and valuation has at last been worked out, either for special or for general legislation. This was impracticable until the Australian ballot-law, and recent unusual municipal tests pointed the way. No town in New England has repulsed such attacks upon its existence as Brookline. It is completely surrounded by cities. . . . It presents town government at its best, in the very heart of city governments."

In the same paper Mr. Chandler points out the fact that:

"Under sound, vigorous and progressive lines of action are here revealed astounding financial contrasts between the operation of a wholesome town government and enfeebled city government. . .

"Thus, while Boston, between 1880 and 1900, increased in valuation about 78 per cent., and Newton about 137 per cent., Brookline increased about 231 per cent.

"While Boston's debt in that period doubled, and Newton's debt increased about four-fold, Brookline's debt was about \$100,000 less than twenty years before!

"While Boston's and Newton's rate of taxation both increased in that period, Brookline's decreased from \$12.60 to \$10.50 on a thousand, and now is only \$10, with Boston's at \$14.90 and Newton's at \$16.80.

"Brookline's borrowing capacity, January 31, 1902, was about five times as large as Boston's in proportion to their respective valuations."

We mention the fact of Brookline's wealth because one of the two principal theoretical objections advanced by the enemies of the town-meeting and Direct Legislation is that wealth would be insecure in a municipality where direct government by the electorate obtained. Brookline's practical experience touching this objection is therefore interesting and suggestive. In 1860 those who merely paid poll-tax "constituted 42 per cent. of the voters," observes Mr. Chandler, "but, in 1900 those voters who paid only a polltax in Brookline were 54 per cent. of the whole number of voters." Rich as the town is, it is those who merely pay a polltax and those who have a very moderate income who are the real masters of the town. Yet it is safe to say that nowhere in America have the voters evinced less desire to be extreme, unjust or unreasonable than in this modern American municipality. And in passing let us emphasize a fact

<sup>\*</sup>Signed editorial in the Boston Globe.

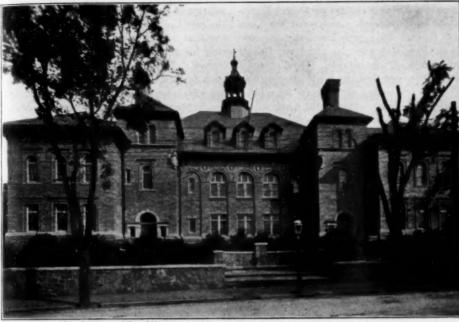


Photo. by Partridge, Boston and Brookline.

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BROOKLINE PIERCE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

which the un-American reactionaries fail to appreciate: the mass of the people in any nation enjoying a reasonable degree of freedom and justice are conservative, and democracy tends to foster a wise conservatism by instilling justice and the principles of the Golden Rule into the working ideal of national life. Clothe a people with freedom and environ them with justice, and the unreasoning and revengeful spirit begotten of injustice and despotism disappears. This fact has been very strikingly illustrated in the republic of Switzerland since the adoption of the initiative, referendum and proportional representation. These simple democratic measures gave the people the power and means of righting whatever things they conceived to be unjust and wrong, and the steadying power arising from this consciousness of mastership on the part of the electorate has been remarkable. The knowledge that the people are in very fact the sovereigns, the source of laws they hold to be necessary, and the arbiters of

all statutes that are passed by their representatives, has allayed revolutionary discontent on the one hand and on the other has made their public servants the true representatives-something which frequently they are not with us. Furthermore, the American people are preëminently a conservative people, and when the power of government is lodged with them in fact as well as in theory, they are fair, reasonable, safe and honest-something which cannot be truthfully said of political bosses and the manipulators of partisan machines who have in fact usurped the rights and functions of the popular electorate.

Brookline is not only the richest town in the world, but it has a population of considerably more than twenty thousand persons; and next to the alarmist cry of machine-politicians and those who represent special interests and anti-republican ideals, that property would be imperiled if direct administration was left with the electorate, the favorite argument against

the town-meeting system or Direct Legislation in municipal government has been that it could only be successfully employed in villages of a few hundred, or at most thousands of inhabitants. How often it has been urged that the town-meeting was all right for towns of three or four hundred people, and that it might work where the population was from one thousand to fifteen hundred or even two thousand, but that it was impracticable in places of over five thousand inhabitants. Yet Brookline, since November 13, 1705, has been under the town-meeting, and during the last quarter of a century her population has numbered between twelve and twentythree thousand, and her history is one that any municipality might be proud of. It has been singularly free from taint of scandal or the odor of corruption. The town has grown and prospered in every way. Its affairs have been administered with conspicuous ability, and though a nobly generous spirit has pervaded the government in all matters looking toward the education, the moral development and full-orbed manhood and womanhood, as well as the comfort and happiness of all her citizens, the administration of public affairs has been marked by honesty and economy. Having lived in Brookline for more than a decade, we can speak with assurance in regard to the excellence of the broad and wise policy of the municipality in its dealings with its citizens. things that make for the real welfare of the people have received first consideration, as will be appreciated when we consider the following facts relating to the schools and other public institutions and measures for the common weal as found in this

The public-school buildings and grounds of Brookline are valued at \$1,419,500. There are twenty school-houses. Most of them are pressed-brick structures, many being models of artistic and architectural excellence, and all constructed with a view to practical utility and the health and comfort of the scholars. The high-school building is one of the best-equipped insti-

tutions of the kind in New England, and the new building devoted to manual training and domestic arts is a model institution for the purposes for which it is designed. Brookline furnishes her scholars with text-books and supplies used in the schools. Last year these expenses, including text-books, reference-books, blankbooks, drawing-materials and laboratory and other supplies, amounted to \$4,636 .-The cost of maintaining the public schools for the last year, ending June 30, 1904, was \$178,389.88. There are 3,888 children enrolled in the day-schools, under the 130 instructors employed. Under the efficient management of the present superintendent, Mr. George I. Aldrich, the schools are marked by a high order of excellence. Special efforts are made to give the pupils a full-orbed education and development worthy of the most advanced ideals of twentieth-century education. The graduates from the high-school are well-fitted to enter the great universities and technical institutions, as will be seen from the fact that among the graduates in June, 1903, nine were promptly admitted to Harvard University, five to the Lawrence Scientific School, four to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one to Vassar, and one to the Boston University.

The broad, fine spirit that marks the municipal life of Brookline is much in evidence in the administration of public education. Many things not required are nevertheless cheerfully undertaken by the school authorities and teachers. One example of this character will illustrate this point. It was the opinion of the school-board and the instructors that methods of thrift and economy would be encouraged among the young if the schools established and fostered a penny-savings system, in principle much like the admirable postal savings-bank system of Eng-Accordingly the chairman of the board and the teachers inaugurated and carried forward a penny-savings system. It was started in 1899. By January, 1904, more than \$12,250 in stamps had been sold, returned and canceled by the depositors. The bulk of this sum found its way into the Brookline Savings Bank, which opened an account with any pupil when his stamps amounted to two dollars.

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These facts will prove sufficient to indicate how this town under direct popular government exalts that bulwark of a free state—the public school.

Another illustration of the high value which the citizens place on education is enlightened scientific treatment under the direction of Dr. H. Lincoln Chase. The record of these hospitals affords a striking illustration of the progress being made by our most enlightened physicians in hospital treatment of serious diseases. Take, for example, the contagious-disease patients treated in the Brookline hospitals last year. There were no cases of smallpox in the town, but there were treated in



Photo. by Partridge, Boston and Brookline.

BROOKLINE HIGH-SCHOOL.

found in the fine public library, which at the present time contains 64,700 volumes. Its popularity with the citizens may be inferred from the fact that last year the circulation of books for home use was 137,144 volumes.

The health of the people as well as their moral and intellectual well-being is a sub-ject of first concern. We know of no town where sanitary science is more in evidence. Recently three fine hospitals for contagious diseases have been erected. The sick who are to be isolated receive unsurpassed care and the benefit of

the hospitals thirty-five cases of diphtheria twenty-five cases of scarlet fever, and five cases of measles. The entire number of deaths was four, two from diphtheria and two from scarlet fever. A few years ago these diseases were accounted among the most fatal of the common maladies.

The town supports a fine bacteriological laboratory where, under the direction of Dr. Francis P. Denny, the town bacteriologist, free examinations for the germs of pulmonary tuberculosis, diphtheria, and typhoid fever are made when physicians or citizens desire positive knowledge

regarding cases where any of these dis-

eases are suspected.

Another provision for the health and happiness of the citizens is found in the handsome and commodious public natatorium. This bath-house, which was built in 1896 at an expense of about \$50,000, exclusive of the land, is a model building. It was constructed scientifically and arranged on the most modern lines under the personal direction of Dr. Chase. In addition to its excellent bathing facilities it contains two swimming-tanks, one eighty feet long by thirty-six feet wide. The cost of the baths to the citizens is nominal, ranging from five to fifteen cents per bath, according to the time when it is taken. Swimming lessons are given by the best procurable instructors, and one point of special interest and value is the introduction into the public-school curriculum of free systematic instruction of the pupils in swimming, diving, life-saving, and the resuscitation of the apparently drowned. Last year the number of free lessons in swimming given to the school children was 3,507. That the baths and swimming-tanks are popular is seen from the fact that 57,669 baths were taken and 5,629 lessons were given in swimming last year, in addition to those received by the school children. The bath is now largely self-supporting. Brookline is the second municipality in America to establish an all-the-year-round public bath containing swimming facilities.

The broad and liberal spirit illustrated in the above matters is seen in the generous provisions for parks and play-grounds, for public entertainments on holidays, and in various other matters, as for example, the removing of all snow from the sidewalks of the citizens by the municipality and the watering of the streets in the sum-

mer.

The tax-rate of Brookline is \$10 per thousand. That of Boston, which almost surrounds the town, is \$14.80. That of Newton, the other city that borders Brookline, is \$16.80. Those of other nearby

towns and cities are as follows: Cambridge, \$16.80; Dedham, \$15.80; Lynn, \$18.00; Woburn, \$18.50; Malden, \$16.60.

We have given this somewhat detailed account of some of the public works and special features of Brookline for the purpose of showing that the pride of her citizens is not without foundation, and also because we desire to show how the most democratic of municipalities looks out for the education, development, comfort and happiness of all the people. We now come to a consideration of Direct Legislation as illustrated in this municipality.

#### IV. HOW THE TOWN IS GOVERNED.

While New England citizens are familiar with the town-meeting system of municipal government, we have found that many people living in the South and West have only vague ideas regarding this method of government. We shall therefore briefly outline the manner in which Brookline is governed. The members of the Board of Selectmen are in fact the city fathers. They are elected by the voters, but they have no legislative function. That important right is retained by the electorate. At the annual town-meeting and at adjourned or special meetings all important matters relating to the town government, or acts calling for the ratification of the authoritative democratic power, are brought before the electorate and accepted or rejected by them. At these meetings also the reports of special committees on subjects pending action are heard and voted upon.

The annual town-meeting is the principal municipal event of the year, though frequently adjourned and special meetings are held. Several days before such meetings take place warrants are issued and delivered at the homes or lodging-places of all voters, summoning the citizens to meet at the town-hall at the time specified for the holding of the meeting, and giving an itemized statement of the different



BROOKLINE PUBLIC BATH.
(Interior.)

measures which will be brought up for the action of the electorate. These warrants are supplemented in the case of the annual meeting, or when there is anything of special importance, by a report of the Selectmen of Brookline on the articles in the warrant. These reports as they relate to the annual meeting are quite extended when there are several questions of special moment to be decided or when there is much diversity of opinion among the Selectmen or committees appointed to investigate certain questions to be submitted to the electorate. This year the report occupies more than twenty-two closelyprinted pages. It contains an elaboration of the summary given in the warrant, and here we find the various proposed measures that are to be introduced on the initiative of the voters given with the signature of the petitioners. As this is an illustration of the limited initiative which is a part of the town-meeting system, we reproduce Articles Seven and Eleven in this year's

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report as showing how the popular initiative under the New England system is proposed and presented:

"Seventh Article.—'To see if the town will appoint a committee of twenty-five, a part of which number shall be ladies, to consider the matter of the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Brookline as a town, which anniversary will occur November, 1905. This committee to outline a programme or plan for such celebration with an estimate of cost and report in print to the town on or before the Annual Town-Meeting of 1905.'

"This article is inserted at the request of the Brookline Historical Society. The Selectmen approve of the suggestion.

"Eleventh Article.—"To amend Section 31 of the Schedule of Annual Water-Rates of the town of Brookline, so as to reduce the price to be charged for water furnished through meters, such reduction to take effect as of January 1, 1904."

"This article is inserted in response to the following petition:

" 'To the Selectmen of Brookline:

"'The undersigned legal voters in Brookline respectfully request that an article be inserted in the warrant for the next town-meet-

ing, as follows:

"'Article—. To amend Section 31 of the Schedule of Annual Water-Rates of the town of Brookline, so as to reduce the price to be charged for water furnished through meters, such reduction to take effect as of January 1, 1904.

"'BROOKLINE, February 23, 1904.

"'ALFRED D. CHANDLER,

"PRENTISS CUMMINGS,

""WM. E. LINCOLN,

"'CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH,

"'LESLIE C. WEAD,

"HORACE N. FISHER,

"WM. H. LINCOLN,

"'W. R. CHESTER, "Joseph W. Homer,

"BENJAMIN P. RICHARDSON."

This illustration of the principle of the people's initiative is of course far less satisfactory than the popular initiative as it prevails in Switzerland, Oregon and elsewhere to-day, because it is not mandatory in its provisions. Still, when we remember when it was introduced, we will see how excellently it met the simple requirements at the time of its origin. It is also a striking illustration of how our Pilgrim Fathers reached out intelligently for methods in government that were purely and fundamentally democratic. Swiss method, which provides that on the petition of a certain specified percentage of the legal voters a question must be acted upon, is an ideal democratic measure that has worked most satisfactorily wherever introduced.

Another peculiarity of direct legislation by the town-meeting as found in Brookline is the publication of the arguments for and against important proposed measures, when there is diversity of opinion among the Selectmen or the members of special committees investigating the measure in question, in the report on the articles in the warrants. This enables voters to weigh the arguments for and against measures and then to vote intelligently at the town-meeting. An interesting illustration of this kind is found in this year's report, in which the question of a site for a new public-library building is discussed at length. Three sites had been suggested by citizens, and at a previous town-meeting money had been voted to obtain expert opinions from the best architects and landscape architects on the question. At the same meeting the citizens appointed a committee to consider the whole question and report at this year's meeting. The expert opinion and advice of Sheply, Rutan & Coolidge, architects, and of Olmstead Brothers, landscape architects, was spread before the voters in the report on the articles in the warrant, after which follow the majority and minority reports of the committee of nine. The latter reports present clearly and succinctly the opposing views and suggestions of the members of the committee. In this manner the electors obtained a clear and definite idea of the question before attending the town-meeting and were therefore enabled to consider and pass upon the question judicially.

These are some of the many strong features of the town-meeting system, in which not only are the people the real legislators, but their few officers remain in such intimate touch with the voters that their actions can easily be challenged. Under no other system do we find such perfect working of the democratic ideal, and nowhere else is there so little opportunity for corruption, graft or the granting of special privileges as under the town-

meeting system of government.

Brookline has shown in a conclusive manner how groundless and sophistical are many of the theoretical objections that have been persistently advanced by those who are consciously or unconsciously the enemies of democratic government, and by all special-pleaders for machine-rule and privileged interests. It has given the New World the most impressive practical illustration of the fact that in the town-meeting system or the basic principles which it incorporates are found at once the most perfect embodiment of the purely democratic ideal in municipal government and the method of rule that most happily and effectively conserves the best interests of the people individually and collectively while rendering difficult if not

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munity is small enough to permit of the assembling of the majority of the voters in the town-hall. The time often comes, however, when a town becomes so populous that a modification of the system becomes imperative. In large towns of from twelve to twenty-five thousand inhabitants the town-halls are inadequate to hold the voters, or if large enough the meetings are liable to become unwieldy when questions are up that deeply con-



BROOKLINE PUBLIC BATH.
(Exterior.)

impossible the prevalence of bribery and corruption which is the supreme menace to free institutions to-day. It has demonstrated the excellence of the town-meeting system in fostering a healthy public interest in government and in preventing the blunting and degrading of the civic conscience which is the invariable sequel to machine municipal rule.

V. HOW DIRECT LEGISLATION CAN BE MODIFIED AND EXTENDED TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF LARGE COMMUNITIES.

The town-meeting is an almost ideal municipal government so long as the com-

cern the voters and when public sentiment is ranged in rival camps. Brookline has met this difficulty in the past by the appointment of committees of representative citizens who elucidate the various views held by the citizens, after carefully considering the mooted question, and their conclusions have been, as we have observed, incorporated in the reports sent out before the holding of the town-meeting. So satisfactory has the appointment of large representative committees proved that it might, we think, well be introduced as a permanent feature of town-meeting government, as has been proposed.

The supreme excellence in the system of the town-meeting, however,—that

which makes it at once the most democratic and the safest system of municipal government, is found in the placing of the government directly in the hands of the people; the provisions which enable the citizens to be the initiators and the legislators and which make them the supreme arbiters and final court of appeal on all questions of importance, without having to trust to delegate powers which may and in time invariably do misrepresent and betray the public. The principle of the initiative and referendum, which has placed Switzerland in the forefront among the exemplars of pure democracy in the world, and which has rendered corrupt ring-rule, corporate domination, and the mastership of privileged interests impossible in the Alpine States, is the feature of supreme excellence in our town-meeting form of government. Therefore the one thing of vital importance in any modification of the town-meeting system required to meet the demands of larger municipalities, is the embodying in a full and practical manner of the principle of Direct Legislation. And owing to the complex conditions of modern municipal life and the presence of strong and rich powers seeking the acquisition of vast fortunes at the expense of the citizens, or the enjoyment of millions of dollars of annual revenue from the use of public franchises that are in the nature of the case by right the property of the people or the municipality, it becomes a point of paramount importance that the right of the popular initiative and the referendum in legislation be recognized in all municipalities in order that the citizens, through possessing the right of petition and the veto-power, may be the final arbiters on all important questions, especially those relating to the disposition of public franchises and the expenditure of the people's money.

Once give the voters the power to initiate legislation on the demand of, say ten per cent. of the legal voters, and to exert the right of veto on all important propositions when there is a demand of from five

to seven per cent. of the voters, and the evil of bribery, corruption and ring-rule will have been destroyed. This has been proved in every instance when these provisions have been given a fair trial. The fact that the people can veto measures inimical to their interests and the public weal makes it inexpedient for special interests to sustain a costly lobby or submit the people's representatives to the temptation of direct or indirect bribery. In Oregon, after the establishment of the constitutionality of the Direct-Legislation statute by the Supreme Court, the powerful lobby that had been so influential in securing legislation for favored interests, disappeared from the halls of state. same results have been apparent in Switzerland and, indeed, everywhere where the right of the people to veto legislation has been fully and freely granted. The giving of the right makes the need of its employment unnecessary or rarely necessary; while wherever it has been denied the people, corruption, bribery and the betraval of the voter's interests have ensued through the union of special interests, political bosses and partisan machines.

These are facts of supreme importance that no friend of free institutions can afford to ignore; and any attempt to adapt the admirable town-meeting system to large municipalities that does not recognize the right of the voters to initiate legislation and to veto measures is wholly unworthy of serious consideration, because the soul of the town-meeting system lies in the recognition of the citizen as the arbiter in vital matters concerning municipal government.

It is far less important to modify the machinery of city government as it now exists than it is to restore to the people the right of insisting on being allowed to vote on certain questions and the right of vetoing measures that are inimical to the interests of the community. Grant the people these rights, which the very theory of democratic government concedes to be theirs, and the day of the grafter in mu-

nicipal life will be at an end; and in the place of an increase of corruption, such as is undermining republican institutions with us, we shall have a renaissance of republicanism in its purity, with a rapid rise in the ideals and standards of civic life and the return of the fittest to government from which they have been banished

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by the corrupt party-bosses, the partisan machines and the rich corporations and privileged interests seeking special privileges and public rights at the hands of venal politicians who have long misrepresented the people.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

## THE PENDING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

A SYMPOSIUM.

## I. WHY I PREFER THEODORE ROOSEVELT TO ALTON B. PARKER.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.,
Author of The Story of New Zealand, The City for the People, etc.

Y OPEN letter to President Roosevelt published in the August Arena was written before the St. Louis Convention, and the Editor wishes me now to tell why I prefer President Roosevelt to Judge Parker.

In the first place, Judge Parker is the choice of the machine, while President Roosevelt is very distasteful to the machine, which only consented to his nomination because the sentiment of the rank and file compelled it to do so. That the machine dislikes a man because he is too good for it, too independent and strong for it, is one of the best recommendations a candidate can have.

Second, Judge Parker appears to be satisfactory to Wall street, the giant gambling-den of this continent. It seems quite certain that he will do nothing to disturb it. But most of the master-spirits in this colossal gambling-hell cordially hate President Roosevelt. He has shown a disposition to intrude upon their preserves and they think him a dangerous man. The more dangerous he is to Wall street the better I like him. I wish he were still more dangerous to the gilded gam-

blers who rob labor of hundreds of millions of dollars a year. I love President Roosevelt for the enemies he has made; only I wish he had made a few more.

Third, I do not know much about Judge Parker's personality. He is said to be a fine man in many ways, but he appears to be decidedly conservative. About President Roosevelt, on the other hand, I know a great deal that is inspiring in spite of his faults, which are neither few nor feeble. He is courageous, independent, powerful, conscientious, and mildly progressive in the directions in which he has got his eyes open. As President he has been responsible for many things that I cannot account for on the principles of his past; yet, I believe that when he turns his conscience loose on any question, he is likely to come out right within the limits of his understanding. It is in the understanding business that the main limitations come If I thought he deliberately usurped legislative power, or if I believed his combativeness so great as to amount to love of war, or if I regarded him as an imperialist, or a friend of aggressive trusts, I would not vote for him; but I believe his intent is



MISS NINA DAVID.

(See "A New Prima Donna," in "The Mirror of the Present.")

good; it is his judgment and impulsiveness that in some cases lead him into error. And it is his lack of understanding of some of the great movements of his age that chiefly limits his progressive usefulness. He sees the possibilities for material advancement, but he does not seem to see the splendid possibilities of progress toward higher human relationships in industry and government, to realize which a man of his power and backing could do so much. Nevertheless the conscience, power and progressiveness he has shown, together with the vast influence he possesses with the people, make him in my judgment the best available candidate. He is the friend of labor and the friend of capital, and if he gets his eyes open a little wider he will do a great deal to bring them into closer harmony.

Fourth, Judge Parker represents a

party composed of wholly incongruous elements, held together only by the desire for party victory, and likely to split on any important measure; while President Roosevelt represents a party that is comparatively well acquainted with itself and comfortable in its own society, and likely to stand by its President on any reasonable progressive measure. If there was a party pledged to Mr. Bryan's programme of income-tax, eight-hour day, industrial arbitration, anti-monopoly, public-ownership of railways and telegraphs, etc., with a leader like Mr. Bryan or Mr. Folk, neither of the present great parties would have much attraction for me, but under present conditions I regard President Roosevelt as the hope of progressive men who have at heart the interests of the common people. FRANK PARSONS.

Boston, Mass.

# II. WHY I SHALL SUPPORT JUDGE PARKER INSTEAD OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

BY C. VEY HOLMAN, Lecturer on Mining Law in Boston University and the University of Maine.

If I SUPPORT Judge Parker for the Presidency, it will be because I hope for a restoration of the Republic, betrayed subtly, insidiously, but as absolutely as by a coup d'état by the Treaty of Paris after the war of 1898—a consequence for which Mr. Bryan will be held by historians fully as responsible as President McKinley. The latter, with all the power of the administration behind him, was unable to force the ratification of that treaty—but Mr. Bryan drove it through the Senate for him.

In my judgment, the election of Judge Parker would reopen for vital consideration the temporarily closed question of Republic as against Empire, and would signalize the return, actual and not merely academic, of the American nation to its primitive ideals of representative civil government, controlled by law, responsible to the Constitution, and dedicated to liberty.

As a Democrat who has been for eight years disfranchised on national issues by the heresies of the party's official declarations and by the folly of its leadership, I am not insensible to the fact that to win the support of that intelligent electorate which, as between the rank-and-file following of the two great political machines, carries the control, by its exercise of the balance of power of all elections turning on questions of public conscientiousness, Judge Parker must steer a course of remarkable directness between the Scylla of partisanship and the Charybdis of opportunism.

He is opposed by an honest-hearted, clean-minded young man in whom the common people of the entire country have great confidence, who enjoys the vast strategic advantage of the present tenure of executive power and, as a life-long, persistent office-seeker and practical politician, knows well how to utilize its obvious instrumentalities of influence and pressure.

He must face the indisputable fact that the radical hysteria of the past eight years has largely reduced the membership of his party in our national legislature, and, particularly in the matter of the Senate, has diminished its representation from States north of Mason and Dixon's line to a figure never reached even during the

stress of the civil war.

He must recognize that the policy of his party's leadership in the two preceding national campaigns has been one of exclusion and reduction, rather than of augmentation of its voting strength; that the Democratic party is not now in entire control of the governmental machinery of a single State in which a full ballot, freely cast, is honestly counted; and that its Southern leaders who so eloquently plead for the enfranchisement of the brown populations of the Philippines, have unrighteously and unconstitutionally robbed of the right of suffrage the Afro-Americans of their own communities.

On the point of the so-called "colorquestion" in this country, I regard the position of Theodore Roosevelt as unquestionably and eternally right; and were it the crucial question of the campaign, I should view with considerable complacency the prospect of casting my

ballot in his support.

But, as an issue, it is dwarfed to insignificance by the two dominant questions of tariff revision and recurrence to consti-

tutional republicanism.

And I cannot be unmindful that on both these points, the present occupant of the Presidency, as well by the fealty of party allegiance as by his voluntary obligation at the moment of his assumption of its incumbency and his equally voluntary reiteration thereof on the occasion of receiving the notification of his nomination, stands pledged to adhere to the policies and programme of his assassinated

predecessor.

Such of the so-called trusts as are the illegitimate offspring of the concubinage of government favoritism with corporate selfishness can be curbed in the interests of the toiling masses by a proper readjustment of the present grossly unfair tariff-schedules. And let me add that I am no advocate of tariff-revision except as it leads to that ultimate free-trade which Garfield declared to be the true raison d'être of Republican protection.

Such of the "trusts" as are not dependent on tariff pabulum can be best dealt with by stern and impartial applications of common-law principles which, courageously and intelligently utilized, will provide an adequate remedy for every wrong. We need fewer, rather than more, statutory attempts at their inhibition. Here will be found the most pressing need and the greatest advantage of having at the head of our government a trained jurist,

learned in the law.

Judge Parker settled rightly, for his party and the country, the question of the gold standard for our currency, removing it finally from the realm of partisan controversy by a brief, pointed, manly tele-

gram.

It is because I believe that he will settle with equal firmness and with a directness consonant with his virile, straightforward nature and his eminent judicial capacity, the troublesome questions arising from Republican mis-handling of the trustbreeding tariff, and Republican betrayal of the finest example of a democratic frame of government ever established among men in favor of a mongrel form of quasi-imperialism, that I incline to work and vote for his election.

C. VEY HOLMAN.

Boston, Mass.

# III. A WESTERN STATESMAN'S REASONS FOR SUPPORTING HON. THOMAS E. WATSON.

By Hon. WILLIAM V. ALLEN, Ex-United States Senator from Nebraska.

SHALL vote for Thomas E. Watson for President, for the following, among other, reasons:

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His competency is unquestioned and unquestionable, while his life stands as a pledge for the fulfillment of promised reforms which we stand sadly in need of at this time. The Populist platform irrevocably pledges its candidate to the doctrine that the issuance of money is purely a governmental function and cannot be delegated to corporations, and that the Constitution confers on Congress the exclusive power to issue money and control its volume. It demands that money shall be issued in a quantity sufficient to maintain the stability of prices and that every dollar shall be a full legal-tender for all debts, public and private, and shall not be redeemable in any other money. It demands the establishment of government postal savings-banks and a return to oldtime simplicity and modesty and honesty in administration. It declares for the right of labor and that an attempt to place capital above labor is contrary to the established traditions of the republic. It favors the initiative and referendum whereby the people may authoritatively and directly speak on proposed laws. It favors shorter working-hours and more time for recreation and intellectual improvement. It opposes sweat-shops and the degradation of any class of people. It finds the solution of the railroad problem in government ownership and operation, and it speaks strongly in favor of many other reforms which I do not here have the space to mention.

The Republican platform pledges a continuance of the gold standard; the maintenance and enforcement of a system

of criminal taxation from which the few derive great profit, and the many poverty and misery. It praises as worthy of admiration a spectacular and offensive cowboy administration. It seeks to make a man President who would plunge the country into inextricable confusion and endanger its safety in a useless and profitless world-policy for personal gain; it believes in the domination of corporations and corrupt corporate influence and in the industrial servitude of those who labor. In a word, it supports those measures which make for empire and are destructive of the Republic and would curtail the right of the people to rule.

The Democratic platform is but little better. On the money question it is absolutely cowardly, but its failure to make an open declaration on that subject has been supplied by the pledge of its candidate that the gold policy is fixed and shall be unchanged. It is crude and lacks scholarship and cohesion. It is patchwork and a botch. It is full of declarations that no one questions, but points to no remedy for existing evils and holds out no hope to the people for reform.

The candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties are the friends of the money-power, and the corroding political influences of the United States are divided in their support. Neither has the slightest thought of enforcing the anti-trust laws or of dissolving any of the gigantic combinations that are destructive of the ends and purposes of the republic.

The Populist party will receive large and valuable accessions in this section of the Union from both old parties.

WILLIAM V. ALLEN.

Madison, Neb.

# IV. A BOSTON BUSINESS-MAN'S VIEW OF ROOSEVELT, PARKER AND WATSON, AND THE IDEALS THEY REPRESENT.

BY GEORGE F. WASHBURN, Head of the Washburn Department Store.

I CANNOT conscientiously vote for Roosevelt, for no man living is great or good enough to hold the destiny of another man in his hands; and Roosevelt may yet claim the "divine right" to do this. The ruthless way in which he overrides Man and Constitution marks the autocrat. His cruel treatment of General Miles revealed his dictatorial nature.

Second: Because in his attempts to dictate the judicial and usurp the legislative function of the government, and in his trenching upon the prerogatives of Congress, he has already weighed the Constitution in the balance against his personal ambition and found it wanting.

Third: Because his career is that of an impulsive, erratic, dangerous man. We know not what the morrow may bring forth. His restless, vaulting ambition to go down in history as the martial figure of his day might plunge us into a great war before the expiration of another term; and I cannot invoke the specter of the "man on horseback" at Washington.

I cannot vote for Parker, because he represents a reactionary party that would adopt any platform expediency might dictate regardless of principle.

Second: Because his convention telegram bids for the gold Republican vote and because if elected he would be the servile tool of the very men who are exploiting the republic to-day for private gain.

Third: Because he is dominated by the same subtile Wall-street influence that Thomas W. Lawson is just now exposing to the American people.

In the language of Bryan, in determining between these two men, we have to choose between the god of war and the god of gold.

Aside from the candidates themselves, any reason why I should not vote for one party applies with equal force to the other. Both are bidding for the favor of the same master, both are owned by a political syndicate composed of the same men who control the moneyed, industrial and governmental interests of the nation. This capitalistic machine is so thoroughly established in both parties that nothing short of a political revolution can overthrow it, and any man who votes for the two old parties this year, casts his influence for machine-rule and trust-domination.

I can vote for Watson because he is a man of many talents, great ability, absolute honesty and cannot be dominated by corporate influence. In his energy, courage and broad statesmanship, he resembles "Old Hickory," the synonym for power, patriotism and principle.

Second: Because the platform he stands upon—which demands, among other important measures, sufficient money to be issued by the government to properly transact the business of the country and maintain stability of prices, public ownership of natural monopolies, and direct legislation—is one that commends itself to my best economic judgment and political common-sense. It was formed in the spirit of liberty and good-will to all the people, and is not a "cunningly-devised fable" to deceive. The very soul of the movement which inspired it is pledged to

the highest good of the greatest number.

Third: Because the People's party is today the one compact, national political party which flings down the gauntlet to the robber-barons, the trusts, and the two political organizations they subsidize and control.

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Fourth: Because Mr. Watson stands

for an immediate return to the spirit of our fathers, the far-seeing founders of the greatest republic on earth.

I can thus conscientiously vote for the People's party candidate, Hon. Thomas E. Watson.

GEORGE F. WASHBURN.

Boston, Mass.

## V. MY POLITICAL CREED, OR WHY I SHALL VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET.

BY REV. GEORGE ELMORE LITTLEFIELD.

SHALL vote the Socialist ticket because I believe in Socialism. I have almost as many reasons for being a Socialist as I have for living; and life is as precious to me as to any one—indeed, all the more precious just because I am a Socialist.

Here are a few reasons or statements for being a Socialist which I am ready to elaborate and substantiate any time for The Arena, or any of its readers:

First: Socialism means economic security to every worker; substituting cooperation and equal opportunity for competition and class-privilege. No "dividing-up," as the "Standard-Oil Crowd" does it, no drones, and saving the present enormous waste will assure all an easy and plenteous livelihood.

Second: Socialism will prolong human life and make it happier. The workers average thirty-nine years; capitalists, fifty-five years. When the People is its own capitalist, the treadmill of toil and the worry of loss will be eliminated, so that the average life will be nearer the Psalmist's three-score-and-ten, and happier on account of all these reasons.

Third: Socialism will foster nobler incentives. When our present chief incentive—the desperate scramble for the dollar—ceases, the incentives of art, truth, craftsmanship, and social-service

will be released. Rational emulation will displace brutal competition.

Fourth: Socialism will help evolve a higher individualism. As the plant unfolds its beautiful individuality in a carefully-cultivated garden better than when cast along the stony, trampled wayside, so humanity—God's soul-flowers—will develop best in the social garden of Socialism.

Fifth: Socialism will advance morality. The present system is dishonest, for it allows a cunning capitalist-class, by means of rent, interest and profit, to exploit the toiling masses, and breeds every form of corruption; graft, swindling, gambling, robbery and murder, as well as national sneak-thievery—sneaking through Panama and thieving from the Filipinos. Socialism will cease plastering and patching a rotten system and substitute justice for injustice, placing the premium upon the Golden Rule instead of on the anarchy of "every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

Sixth: Socialism will make religion real. Every known form of religion, including Christianity, at a certain stage of its development, has been perverted to sanction the social system of some ruling, exploiting class. This perversion causes the grossest materialism and atheism under sacerdotal disguises. This hypocrisy will be removed, and the soul of man will naturally

flower out toward Divine love when economic righteousness is established.

Seventh: Socialism will secure the home, save women from shame, and stop the sacrifice of children to the Moloch of commercialism.

Eighth: Socialism will make for temperance. The saloon will go out of business when the incentive of profit is removed, and men will less crave stimulants when we have more wholesome conditions of life.

Ninth: Socialism will purify politics and perfect true democracy. The efforts of the "outs" to get in, and of the "ins" to stay in, and the bribery of business, besides the fact that there is but one office to some four hundred seekers, corrupts politics. When all are "ins"—every one has a governmental position—and the social ideal of civil-service is raised, and business cannot bribe, politics will become truer to the definition: "the public welfare." Government of the rich, by the rich, for the rich will be replaced by government of the people, by the people, for the people.

Tenth: Socialism will abolish war. International comrades in a world-wide Coöperative Commonwealth will not kill one another.

Eleventh: Socialism will settle the labor question and thus avert another possible civil war. Industrial partners will not

strike against themselves.

Twelfth: I am a Socialist because Socialism is inevitable. Capitalism and wageism, like two cobras, will crush each other. Besides, economic evolution shows that as slavery gave way to feudalism, and feudalism to modern capitalism, so capitalism must give way to socialism. Economic evolution also points out that first came the single proprietor; then partnership in business; then the corporation or partnership of partners; then the trust or partnership of the corporations, and now finally must come the merging of the trusts into a greater partnership, through the public-ownership of all the means of production and distributionthe People's Trust, or Socialism. Either this, or else the world goes back into the melting-pot through another dark age of despotism.

GEORGE ELMORE LITTLEFIELD.

Westwood, Mass.

### VI. WHY I SUPPORT THE PROHIBITION TICKET.

By JOHN G. WOOLLEY, Editor The New Voice.

IT SOUNDS like affectation when one speaks of himself in connection with the higher moral altitudes. This is due merely to some unpleasant and unfortunate associations of ideas, and ought not to weigh much as against an opportunity to be heard, even briefly, in behalf of a great movement, by the great, thoughtful public which appertains to The Arena.

My children have sometimes made free to say that I am deficient in the sense of humor, and it may be so. At any rate, I take my ballot seriously. I regard it as my declaration of independence, my bill of rights, my petition, my protest, my mandate, my cheer, my warning, my bayonet, my siege-gun, my fortification, my navy, my ammunition, my commissariat, my medicine. It is not much one man can do in the politics of eighty millions, but whatever he can do, he can do with his ballot. Money-politics and vice-politics have apprehended this, and acted on it, but to "labor"-politics, and Christian-politics, it it remains a mystery. The labor-vote and the temperance-vote this year will probably divide about equally between two parties, both of which are dominated by capitalism and liquorism. They equally please the liquor-trade, and

the only question as to which will win in the coming election, is the question which pleases best the money-power.

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Naturally, my vote seems to me important, first as to its truth to my own convictions, and second, as to its power to accomplish. I insist on this order. If a ballot ignores, or misstates the voter's intention, it is a mere yawp, or a lie. times in my life when I have in this way uttered a yawp or a lie have invariably left me ashamed. That is the most uncomfortable and unnerving sensation I have ever had. I refuse to incur it again. Henceforth, when I vote, "I celebrate myself," as Walt. Whitman says. Henceforth, my vote must represent my own highest, clearest conception of public morality and wisdom, which is, of course, the same thing.

The beverage liquor-traffic is the greatest weight upon the limbs of civilization, and to a sad degree, immovable at present. As to the colonies, the territories, the District of Columbia, and the interstate common-carriers, it is a Federal creature. That it has a legal status, obtained from year to year by paying money, is not only an immorality, but also an infamy. nation that deliberately and finally adopts, or accepts such a relationship to a system that is naturally, directly, invariably, persistently and criminally opposed to good morals, good health, good government and good times, ought not to have an eagle for an emblem, but a louse. I am for the eagle, and, therefore, against a legal status for the saloon.

It is always fair, as to political action, to ask, is this practical? and the answer is by no means always easy, but it seems to me certain that it is never practical to go against the grain of conscience and self-respect, and any man who aspires to be a good citizen in a democracy, ought frankly and heartily to honor his own high thought though it arrive on an ass, or the foal of an ass. This is my apology for being a party Prohibitionist.

Shifting the basis a little, the same point is reached by the process of exclu-

sion. I am a responsible fraction of the sovereignty. In a measure, my will is the national will, and my character the national character. The Republican party asks for my endorsement. I cannot give it. I do not believe in the Republican party. Its record is bad. Forty years ago it took the wheel of a great moral reform, and ran it on the rocks for fear it might fall into the hands of its owners, the people. Its present platform seems to me a piece of the coarsest and vulgarest brag, unrelieved by any convincing references to those eternal values for which real statesmanship is most concerned.

I think the Republican tariff is not only the mother of trusts, but also the mother of the more fearful distrusts which are breaking up the population into warring classes and breaking down, in church and school and trade, the hearty, helpful, hopeful intercourse of the people, without which the republic cannot live well, nor live long.

I think the tendency of the Republican party is to the establishment of a plutocracy, the worst conceivable form of anarchy. It has certainly given the working people better wages than they had before, but has also raised the cost of living, and at any rate, the gain is doubtful. The working people would far better be poor freemen, than well-kept servants of rich masters.

The Democratic party asks me to vouch for it. I cannot. It does not seem to me to be a party at all. It is only a charivari under the window of Republican prosperity. When in power it has no power. When in opposition, it has no position. It is full of patriots, but is itself a mere adventurer.

Then there are some reasons against my supporting them which apply to both parties equally. They are both friends, servants, pensioners, of the organized liquor-trade. The success of either means the continuance of the license-system. Both are machine parties. I think a machine is treason, that a boss is a traitor, and that a party which can be ruled or

fooled by them is more dangerous than a mob. I am for home-made politics.

I am devoutly and utterly converted to faith in the people. I believe that universal and untrammeled suffrage without regard to sex or color, would ennoble and enrich this country beyond the dreams of the most sanguine optimist now living.

Both of the old parties deny, or as yet have failed to realize that the chief material concern of good government is to assert and protect the right of competition. One is destroying competition, and the other is flirting with a kind of socialism that would make us a nation of paralytics. I can think of no completer definition of Heaven than this: Fulness of life with a fair show; and a fair show is incompatible with special privileges.

I am for breaking with the distillery, the brewery, the saloon, and the political boss, and for restoring power to the people by the Initiative and Referendum. I think these are the greatest matters before the country in this campaign. The Prohibition party gives me a chance to vote as I think; and as a citizen thinketh into a ballot-box, so is he.

JOHN G. WOOLLEY.

Chicago, Ill.

## CRISES IN JAPANESE HISTORY.

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### THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR.

BY PROFESSOR EDWIN MAXEY, M.DIP., LL.D., Of the Law Department of the University of West Virginia.

IN THE last number of The Arena we discussed the opening of Japan to the world by Commodore Perry. In the present article the war between Japan and her great Oriental neighbor will be considered, and in order that we may get our bearings a brief retrospect is necessary, though we need not go into the history of the ancient relations between China, Japan and Corea.

Since 1876 Japan had recognized the independence of Corea. This she considered so necessary to her own safety that it has been the leading tenet of her foreign policy ever since she may be said to have had a foreign policy. As between herself and Corea the Japanese policy was one of peace. The verification of this statement will be found—the failure of Japan to declare war in 1882 and again in 1884, when the Japanese legation at Seoul was sacked and burned by the Coreans and Japanese officials were forced to flee for

their lives. Had Japan been seeking an excuse for war she could readily have found it in the above outbreaks. But she was not. The policy to which she has steadfastly adhered is to maintain friendly relations with Corea and to keep her from falling into the hands of any other power.

As a part, and indeed a necessary part, of the above programme, Japan has consistently striven toward securing reforms in the internal administration of Corea. For such was the corruption of its administration that unless it was reformed the condition of affairs would furnish an excuse for interference by Russia, who was even then attempting to secure a coaling-station at Gensun. By opposing all reform in the internal administration of Corea, China was simply playing into the hands of Russia.

By a resort to underhand methods China had exercised a considerable influence at the Corean court, and this influence was used to defeat the plans for reform proposed by Japan. The underlying cause of the war was therefore the irrepressible conflict between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress, though the immediate occasion of the war was the Tong-hak rebellion which was brought on by the unbearable corruption in the Corean administration. So wide-spread was the discontent that the revolution had about swept the government from power. At this juncture the government called upon China for protection.

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According to the treaty of Tien-Tsin, entered into by China and Japan in 1886, the independence of Corea was recognized by both, and it was agreed that neither should send troops into Corea without notifying the other. In this case China, in characteristic fashion, gave no notice of her intention to despatch troops until her army was on Corean soil. This was, as Japan claimed, a violation of the treaty, the intention of which clearly must have been that notice should be given a reasonable length of time in advance, as it would be unneccessary to give it when once the invasion was an accomplished fact, or even when their army was upon the point of crossing the Corean border. This violation of the treaty naturally bred in the Japanese mind distrust of the Chinese The Japanese, therefore, despatched troops into Corea at once.

When the rebellion was put down, as it soon was, by the aid of Japanese and Chinese troops, Japan proposed to the Corean government a plan of reform which was at first favorably received, but owing to the machinations of China was soon rejected. The ultimatum from China that the Japanese forces be withdrawn within a certain number of days forced the hand of Japan. The horns of the dilemma between which she had to choose were: to refuse, and thus bring on a war with a nation with resources many times greater than her own and with a population outnumbering hers ten-fold; or to yield and by so doing postpone the issue. She chose the former.

From the start it was evident that the outcome of the war would depend upon the control of the sea. To Japan this meant everything, for once it was lost, she would be helpless. On paper her navy was inferior to that of China, as China possessed two first-class battleships, the "Chengyuen" and the "Tingyuen, and Japan none. In gun-power the Chinese navy outclassed the Japanese in the proportion of four to three. The navies were about equally modern, as all the Japanese ships had been built since 1878 and the Chinese since 1881. Japan must therefore depend for success upon superior skill and organization.

Things moved rapidly; for though war was not declared until August 2, 1894, the Chinese army was decisively beaten at Ping Yang on September 15th and 16th, and her navy was beaten with equal decisiveness at the Yalu on September 17th. Thus within less than seven weeks Japan had so clearly demonstrated her superiority on sea and land that the issue was no longer in doubt. The Japanese followed up their advantage with such vigor that six months had not passed before the remnant of the Chinese army had surrendered at Wei Hai Wei, and the Japanese had become masters of Corea, Southern Manchuria, including Port Arthur, and were threatening Peking.

With her army thoroughly beaten and her navy gone, there was nothing for China to do but make peace. The more important terms of this peace, which was concluded at Shimonoseki, were: the recognition of the independence of Corea by China and Japan, the payment of an indemnity by China, and the cession of the Liao Tung peninsula to Japan.

This result was no small surprise to the rest of the world, which then, as at the beginning of the present war, had expected to see Japan crushed by the superior bulk of her antagonist. It is hard for people to cease measuring strength by numbers merely. The fact was that Japan had learned something which China had not, and it was the effect of this supe-

rior intelligence that enabled Japan to triumph over her larger and apparently stronger antagonist. What this something was will best appear by quoting from a letter of Count Oyama, then as now in command of the Japanese army, and Vice-Admiral Ito, to Admiral Ting, in command of the Chinese navy:

"To whatever causes the successive failures of the Chinese arms by sea and land may be attributed, we think your Excellency's sound judgment will not fail in assigning them to that true cause which must be apparent to any unprejudiced observer. In China the literary class is still the governing class, and literary accomplishment is the chief if not the sole way to rank and power now, as it was a thousand years ago. We do not venture to deny that this system is excellent in itself, and might be permanent and sufficient if China were to stand alone in the world. But national isolation is no longer a possibility. . . . To throw away the old and adopt the new as the sole condition of preserving the Empire is as necessary with your government as it was with ours. The necessity must be attended to, or fall is inevitable sooner or later. Now, at such a juncture, is it the part of a truly patriotic man, upon whom the necessity of action devolves, to allow himself to be simply dragged along by the force of circumstances? Compared with the reestablishment on a sound working-basis of the oldest empire in the world, with its glorious history and its extensive territories, what is the surrender of a fleet or the loss of a whole army?"

But China was far too bigoted to take advice or learn from the example of Japan, to whom she had for centuries considered herself superior. In fact it was the exhibition of this feeling of superiority that contributed largely toward making the war inevitable. When China will profit by this advice and adjust herself to changed conditions it is yet too soon to say, but certain it is that eventually either adjustment or effacement must come.

Had the crisis ended with the victory of Japan over China, it would have been indeed fortunate for Japan, for China, and for the peace of the world. But no sooner had peace been restored in the Orient than Russia drew Germany and France into a coalition for the purpose of robbing Japan of the first fruits of her victory. The name under which this robbery was to be consummated, solemnized and made respectable was the preservation of the integrity of the Chinese Empire and the peace of the Orient. Japan was told that it would be dangerous to both of these for her to retain a foothold upon the mainland. She was therefore advised to give up the Liao Tung peninsula, and was given to understand that to disregard this advice meant war with Russia, Germany and France.

It was indeed hard to be thus cheated out of what she had won by the valor of her soldiers, but when one is surrounded by highwaymen it is usually the part of prudence to "stand and deliver." Knowing that she could not hope to contend successfully against the coalition, Japan forced her sentiment to give way to her practical sense, and submitted. The fact that she submitted did not, however, keep her from remembering that she had been robbed. She at once went to work in a practical, business-like way to prepare for the clash between herself and Russia which the above action rendered inevitable. Besides strengthening her army and navy, she formed an alliance with England to prevent a recurrence of the "regrettable incident" which followed the war with China. The effectiveness of this preparation will be discussed in our

next article.

EDWIN MAXEY.

Morgantown, W. Va.

## THE SINGLE VOTE IN PLURAL ELECTIONS.

BY ROBERT TYSON.

METHODS OF BALLOT-TRANSFER.

PREVIOUS article, entitled "Japan's Electoral Wisdom," described the simple system of Proportional Representation used for electing members to the Japanese House of Com-It is the Single Vote in Large Electoral Districts; that is, each voter has but one vote in a district from which several members are elected. In Japan, this vote is untransferable and stays with the candidate to whom it is given, whether he be elected or not. An improvement on the Japanese plan would be to provide for some simple method of ballot-transfer, by which no votes would be wasted on defeated candidates, and no candidate would ultimately get any more votes than were actually needed to elect him. Here are brief descriptions of some systems designed to effect this object:

#### THE HARE OR HARE-SPENCE SYSTEM.

If you are voting on the Hare-Spence system in a seven-member constituency. you mark your ballot for seven candidates (or less) in the order of your choice, with the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. The man whom you like best you mark No. 1, and so on in rotation. If your vote goes to help the candidate of your first choice to be elected, then it does not count for anybody else. But if the candidate whom you have marked No. 1—your first choice -has enough votes without yours, or has so few votes that he cannot be elected, then your vote goes to the man whom you have marked No. 2. If your No. 2 does not need or cannot use your vote, then it is passed on to No. 3, and so forth.

In counting the votes, the first operation in the Hare system is to sort out the ballots into as many compartments as there are candidates, according to the first choice or No. 1 votes, paying no attention for the present to the other figures on the ballots. While this is being done two tally-clerks are keeping tally of the votes. When the total number of votes is thus ascertained, it is divided by seven, which is the number of members to be elected. This gives the "quota" or number of votes required to elect any one man. For instance, if seven members are to be elected and fourteen thousand votes have been cast, the "quota" will be two thousand.

Then any one of the candidates who has a quota or more than a quota is declared elected. If he has more than a quota, his surplus ballots are transferred to such of the other candidates as may have been marked No. 2 on the ballots so transferred. If the candidate marked No. 2 on any of these ballots has already been elected, then the ballot goes on to No. 3, and so on.

It never happens that the full number of members required have quotas of first-choice votes; so we then begin at the other end, take the man at the foot of the poll, with the lowest number of votes, declare him "out of the count," and then distribute the whole of his votes amongst the remaining candidates, according as indicated by the voters themselves, each on his own ballot. This process is repeated until seven of the candidates either get a quota or come the nearest to it.

I have put this description first and devoted most space to it, not because I advocate or prefer the Hare system, but because it illustrates best the transfer principle; throws light on other methods; and is a solemn warning against mathematical complexities.

The Hare system has been used in the British State of Tasmania for six separate elections: namely, twice in the cities of Hobart and Launceston respectively for the members of the island Legislature, once for the election of Tasmanian members to the Australian Senate, and once

for electing Tasmanian members to the Australian House of Representatives. In 1902 a Government Bill was introduced into the Australian Parliament, providing for the use of the Hare system to elect Senators. The bill was prepared by Professor Nanson, who fills the chair of mathematics at the Melbourne University. Fierce attacks were made on the bill because of its extreme complexity, and it was rejected. The complexity related chiefly to the transfer of the surplus votes of a candidate over and above his quota. This can be done with comparative ease on a mathematical basis when the second choices only are concerned, but when we get to third and fourth choices, and surpluses caused by transfers and things of that sort, it takes a clear head and close attention to steer through it all. Consequently, the rough-and-ready way of taking the surplus by chance is frequently adopted, and is good enough for practical purposes; but it is a continual invitation for superficial criticism.

#### THE GOVE SYSTEM.

Under the Gove system each candidate publishes, after the nominations and before the elections, and in a certain formal way, a list of the candidates to whom he will transfer (1) his surplus votes if he gets more than a quota, or (2) all his votes if he does not get votes enough to be elected. The order of preference of such transfer may either be settled by the list or determined by the comparative number of votes cast for the others whom he names; that is to say, the man having the largest number of votes on his own account may have the first claim on transferred votes, if he needs them.

It is, therefore, only necessary for the voter to mark one name on his ballot, and the result of the election can be obtained by dealing with statements furnished by the deputy-returning officers from the polling subdivisions, instead of the actual ballots being sent to the returning officer.

The Gove system is chiefly objected to on the ground that the candidates determine the transfer of ineffective votes, whereas the voters themselves ought to determine this.

To this objection the answer is that the voter takes into consideration both the candidate and his list of proposed transferees. Those whom a candidate puts on his list are usually men of the same party as himself, or those in harmony with his opinions; and these are just the persons whom in most cases the voter himself would choose. The making of an improper list would seriously injure a candidate's chances; whilst the very making of a list is useful information to the voter as to the political position of the candidate, especially if independently nominated.

On the other hand, the counting is much quicker, and the ballots have not to be taken to a central place to be counted.

The mechanical voting apparatus now coming into use could be easily adapted to the Gove system.

Any citizen, when the vote is announced, can figure out the transfer for himself. At every election a thousand checking pencils would prevent even the suspicion of fraud in the transfers.

The admirable simplicity of this system should commend it to the most careful consideration of electoral reformers.

#### THE LIST SYSTEMS.

The method of ballot-transfer in widest use for actual legislative elections is where the candidates are divided on the ballots into party lists. This plan is in operation in Switzerland and Belgium, and has met with pronounced success. Besides the division of the candidates into lists, the following are the chief features:

Any group of voters entitled to nominate candidates, either by convention or petition, may nominate as many candidates as it sees fit up to the whole number to be elected.

Votes count individually for the candidates as well as for the party or group to which they belong.

The sum of all the votes cast is divided by the number of members to be elected, and the quotient is known as the quota of representation.

The total vote of each party or group of voters is divided by this electoral quota, and each party is allotted as many seats as the quota is contained times in its vote. Should there not be enough full quotas to elect all the members, the required number is taken from the party or parties having the largest unfilled quotas.

The proportion of candidates to which each party is entitled is taken from its list in the order of the votes received by the candidates.

The foregoing features are subject to variation, but give the general idea. Exception may at first sight be taken to my calling the list systems a method of ballot-transfer. There is no direct transfer, but the use of the lists makes an indirect transference within the party lists.

List systems are a partial exception to my rough formula: "The Single Vote in Large Districts." The Single Vote is not essential in list systems, although the large districts are. In Switzerland the multiple or block-vote is used; that is, each voter has as many votes as there are candidates to be elected. This plan was recommended a few years ago by the American Proportional Representation League. Some words of Mr. Stoughton Cooley, the Secretary, probably indicate the main reason for this choice. He says:

"The system that most nearly conforms to our present institutions and methods is the Swiss, or Free List. Whatever may be the ultimate form adopted to give Proportional Representation expression, it would seem that this offers the least resistance as a means of introduction."

Mr. Cooley then proceeds to describe the Free List with the block-vote.

But the Single Vote can be quite well used in the list systems, and is used in Belgium for all parliamentary elections. Considerable controversy has taken place on the respective merits of these two ways of using the list method. I frankly own myself strongly in favor of the Single Vote,

and so long as that be used I care but little what form of direct or indirect transfer is used, if only it be simple. In this view I follow the lead of two of the most active American proportionalists—Governor Garvin, of Rhode Island, and Hon. William H. Gove, of Salem, Massachusetts.

It was matter for sincere rejoicing when Belgium in 1899 adopted "la Representation Proportionnelle" on the plan of a list system with the Single Vote, as already described in The Arena.

#### THE CUMULATIVE VOTE.

A plan called Cumulative Voting has been used for thirty years in the election of English school-boards, and has just been adopted for the election of the Board of Control of the Toronto City Council, and also partially for the Toronto Board of Education. It is easily described. Each elector has as many votes as there are candidates to be elected, and he may divide these votes amongst several candidates or "cumulate" them all on one or two of the candidates, as he pleases. The more the voters cumulate, the more proportional is the result. To bring the Cumulative method within my rough formula, I would call it "the Single Untransferable Vote with liberty to split your vote."

### CONCLUSIONS.

I venture to suggest the following salient points:

That proportionalists should emphasize the essential features of their reform, namely, Large Electoral Districts, and the Single Vote.

2. That the method of transfer should be regarded as of minor importance. Example: In the six Tasmanian parliamentary elections already spoken of, the transfers made no difference to the result. In each election the candidates heading the poll on the count of first choices were those ultimately elected. Transfers, therefore, being only necessary to meet exceptional cases, should be on the simplest plan possible.

3. It is not advisable to advocate the Single Untransferable Vote as a complete system, because it occasionally fails to give a full proportional result. My experience in conducting some dozens of elections on the Hare-Spence plan in clubs, trades-unions, etc., has shown me that some plan of transfer is especially desirable in small elections.

4. Complexity is sometimes excused by saying that the voters are not concerned with the method of counting, and all that they have to understand is how to mark their ballots. The excuse is not valid. Tasmanian voters continually questioned candidates as to the details of the Hare

system. The method of counting ought to be such that a plain man can understand it, otherwise election frauds are facilitated and the people look with suspicion upon electoral results.

5. Any simple kind of Proportional Representation is better than the present

inefficient and unfair methods.

6. Direct Legislation and Proportional Representation are kindred reforms, mutually helpful, and should be together on reform platforms: greater prominence being given to one or the other, as circumstances suggest.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

## VOTERS ALWAYS SOVEREIGN.

BY MAURICE F. DOTY, M.D.

THE SUCCESSFUL completion of the two-hundred-million-dollar referendum petition, whereby 131,247 voters authorized the Election Commissioners to place the street-railway questions on the ballot for April 5, 1904, has forced upon the voters of Chicago the duty of compelling an apparently unwilling City Council to obey the known will of the people. Whether the aldermen will obey remains to be seen. Of far greater importance is the attitude which the courts may take in case the city fathers in their infinite wisdom (?) decide to obey the Traction Company instead of the people.

Have our paid representatives the legal right to legislate contrary to our known will?

The importance of this question becomes plain when we remember that the national, religious, physical, industrial, political and financial independence of the people are all dependent upon the presence of good laws or the absence of bad ones. The laws are but the rules of the game, the earth and all upon it is the prize,

and the people are the players. The class which can make the rules of the game or control legislation will of course win, while the others must necessarily lose. In every country where the few control legislation the many sooner or later find themselves harassed by laws, ordinances, franchises, etc., which enables the financiers to levy tribute upon the people by means of exorbitant prices.

The founders of this country bequeathed an everlasting safeguard to mankind in establishing the principle that the people are the sovereign power in the United States. Their plans for enabling the people to really be the sovereign power have not been very successful, as for various reasons our legislative bodies have not always enacted the people's will into law. But the principle still stands, backed by the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, State Constitution, Election Laws, noted speeches, traditions, and—the people themselves.

The following quotation shows that the signers of the Declaration of Independence

intended the people to always be the sovereign power:

". . . Governments are established among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness) it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them will seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Our Federal Constitution does not indicate any intention on the people's part of giving up the sovereign power, as the following quotation shows:

"We, the people of the United States,
... to secure the blessings of liberty to
ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and
establish this constitution for the United
States of America."

"Article I. Sec. 1. All legislative power herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States. . . . "

"Article IX. The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

"Article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are received to the states respectively, or to the people."

That our government should obey the expressed will of the people is only plain common-sense. Those who signed the Declaration of Independence, those who adopted the Federal Constitution, and those who voted for the State Constitution had no intention of establishing an oligarchy anywhere. If representatives have the legal power to legislate contrary to the known wishes of the people, then they practically have the legal power to dictate how the people shall stand upon all questions, and might as well have the legal

right to cast one ballot for all of the voters at the polls, as they actually now do in the city councils and legislatures. Furthermore, if it be legal for an alderman to thwart the people's will by voting contrary to their wish, why is it a crime for an alderman to thwart the people's will by stuffing the ballot-box to suit himself? The alderman who stuffs a ballot-box is no worse than he who stuffs a franchise down the throats of the unwilling voters of his ward. It makes no particular difference to the people whether they are betrayed by a satanic ballot-box stuffer or a sanctified misrepresentative. The danger lies in the betrayal,—betrayal, because no public official was ever elected in this country on the platform that his will instead of the people's should prevail; betrayal worse than treason, because it destroys faith in the government; and the betrayed voters cannot know whether they were betrayed for conscientious scruples or scruples of gold.

Any authority giving to a representative the legal right to vote contrary to the known will of his people would be a direct violation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, section I. ("Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction"), in that when he so votes he is compelling his people to involuntarily serve him as certainly as though they had to go to the polls and vote as he dictated, or sign a check, or saw a cord of wood; for they are legally compelled to sanction his vote.

Without the referendum the voters are usually legally compelled to vote against their own judgment on matters affecting their own ability to be independent and earn their own living. Specific instructions prohibiting legislation that would thwart the popular will is not in the Constitution, probably because it was not believed that a man elected, honored and paid by the people to be their representative would be so foolish, ungrateful, treacherous and devoid of honor as to de-

liberately misrepresent them and legislate contrary to their known wish. The fact that many of the laws misrepresent the will of the people does not necessarily reflect upon the honor of our public servants nor affect the greater fact that the laws should represent the people; but only goes to prove that representatives cannot be depended upon to represent unless they use the referendum. The only way to learn what the people want is to ask them, and the only way to ask all of them is by means of the little ballot—the referendum.

Without the referendum representative government is absolutely impossible and the one purpose of our Constitution is destroyed. The right of the people to instruct their representatives and the duty of those representatives to obey are clearly a constitutional right and duty. Any action by representatives contrary to the known will of the people is plainly unconstitutional and a denial of popular sovereignty.

MAURICE F. DOTY.

Chicago, Ill.

### THE GOLDEN-RULE FACTORY:

THE LATE MAYOR JONES' CONTRIBUTION TOWARD THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.

By Frank T. Carlton, Fellow in Economics in the University of Wisconsin.

HE BUSINESS of this shop is to make men; the making of money is an incidental detail." Such is the unique motto under which the S. M. Jones Company has carried on a successful business during the past ten years. The head of that firm has been the late lamented Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo. Modern political economy is teaching that men, not wealth, are the end and aim of all productive efforts; that our complex industrial system exists for the benefit of mankind,-of all men, not only employers and capitalists, but employees as This doctrine has a strange ring when sounded in the ears of many well-meaning people, and is said to be impractical, visionary. Manufacture and commerce are often looked upon merely as methods of making money, of amassing material wealth without regard to the welfare and happiness of the workers.

Primitive man toiled early and late in order to satisfy the simple wants of himself and family. Primitive industry was always a means to an end, never an end in itself. This believer in humanity, in the common people, would return to the old-fashioned but ever-correct idea that men, not goods, should be the true product of modern industry; and has dared attempt to work out the problem concretely in order that the way may be made plain for those who come after.

In 1894 the now famous shop was opened on its present site. Previous to that time, Mr. Jones had been engaged in the oil-fields both as an employee and an employer. Upon coming to Toledo, he was for the first time brought into actual contact with the conditions existing in cities. He felt that many laboring men received such low wages as to make it impossible to maintain a decent standard of living for themselves and their families. Early in his career as an employer he accepted, and ever afterward adhered to, the doctrine of a "living wage." The usual or customary wage was never the sole factor in fixing the renumeration of his employees.

His peculiar beliefs and methods were of gradual growth. He first began to print words of caution and rules of conduct upon the pay-envelopes. Soon the sole rule of the factory—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them"—was printed on a piece of tin and hung up in the shop. Last Christmas this was framed by the employees and now occupies a conspicuous place in the dining-room of the factory.

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Painted on the wall of the shop-building over the entrance facing Golden-Rule Park is another characteristic motto: "Every man who is willing to work has a right to live. Divide up the day and give him a chance." Acting upon the sentiment expressed in the first sentence of this motto, all applicants for work were hired as vacancies occurred, no investigation as to the character or the previous record of the person asking for a job being made. The "No help wanted" sign was not displayed; if work could not be given, the applicant received a kind word of advice or admonition, as the case seemed to require. Eight hours was adopted as the proper length of the working day, and was the practical result of the belief in "dividing up the day." Another important innovation was the inauguration of a profit-sharing scheme. Early in the history of the firm, the men were made stockholders in the company and were made to feel that their interests were closely identified with the prosperity of the business.

The building itself is a dingy, weather-beaten affair; it is not a modern factory and has few of the conveniences of the up-to-date shop. Mr. Jones evidently minimized the effect of material environment; he believed more strongly in the influence of man upon man. In one corner of the lot stands Golden-Rule Park and Playground; on the second floor of the shop are found Golden-Rule Hall and Dining-Room. In these the Mayor took particular delight. Here his theories regarding the brotherhood of man were practically and theoretically demonstrated.

Golden-Rule Park comprises about one acre of ground. It is nearly square and is situated at the intersection of two streets. On one side the shop is located, and the

fourth is bounded by a high board-fence. Several trees furnish shade; but no ornamental shrubbery or fountains adorn it. Along the wall of the shop a narrow border of flowers is planted. Seats are scattered about the park under the shade of the trees. Swings and a sand-pile are provided for the children. At almost any time of day children may be seen playing. Mothers wheel their babes here to enjoy the shade of the trees. On the fence at one side of the park a motto from Walt. Whitman is printed in large letters: "Produce great persons, the rest follows." This little oasis in the industrial desert of the city furnishes a convenient and muchneeded breathing-spot for the families living in the vicinity of the shop; and it is used as freely as any public park. Men and women, rich and poor, high and low, are all welcomed, any time, all the time.

Near the center of the little park, under a large, spreading willow-tree, is placed a platform surrounded by benches. Here, on Sunday afternoons in the summer season, the Mayor, his employees, their families and friends would assemble. An address was usually given by Mr. Jones or some other man of broad and liberal views. The Golden-Rule Band, selected from the employees, furnished instrumental music. Frequently a chorus would sing some of Mayor Jones' compositions. In the winter season the service has been held in the hall. These simple exercises were conducted without pomp or needless ceremony. At the conclusion the Mayor walked quietly among the people assembled, talking freely and kindly to all.

The dining-hall has justly been termed "the most democratic dining-hall in the world." There are no reserved tables, distinguished guests walk in with the workers and take any convenient vacant chair. Worker and student, employer and employee, rich and poor, sit in absolute equality around this unpretentious board. Here is pure democracy. Fraternity and equality, plain living and high thinking, are the watch-words. The dining-room is a symbol of the great broth-

erhood of man in which the late Mayor so fervently believed. On the walls hang many pictures and mottoes, the latter taken chiefly from the Bible. It is not a beautiful room, but it is permeated with the spirit of fellowship, kindness and forbearance. The table is only a board; no cloth adorns it. Jeffersonian simplicity Yet around this board reigns supreme. some of the great thinkers and doers of the nation have gathered and gained inspiration and experience. It was a custom of the late Mayor to invite guests to take dinner with him at the shop. Every Friday noon a smoke was enjoyed. After dinner, talks and music were the order of the day.

This shop does not, perhaps, offer a solution to the question of the relation of labor to capital; but it does teach us that sympathy and kindness have a place in the busy business world. Here is a concrete, tangible example of what a liberty-loving humanity-loving idealist, dreamer, and practical business-man can do. It proves that business is not necessarily industrial warfare. The ultimate question, as the quotation on the park fence asserts, is the improvement of men. Progress takes place only as men improve. The worker is a man, the brother of the employer and of all other men; he is not a machine. Industry is more than bread and butter; it is education; it is life. As Mr. Jones has told us: "To live we must work, and we must work to live. It is not birth, nor money, nor a college education that makes a man; it is work."

That old, discredited and discarded rule of business, known as the Golden-Rule. has been for a decade the rule and guide of a successful and growing business. Here was charity for all. No weak and erring sinner was turned away because of his short-comings or past failures. Within the walls of the plain, unpretentious structure men felt a power which uplifted and benefited each and all. Through the instrumentality of this business, Mayor Jones taught, by example as well as by precept, the brotherhood of man. He was distinctly a man of peace, a believer in the power of "love," a man who never lost faith in the honesty of purpose of those with whom he was associated. He has taught us the lesson that work, the accomplishment of some service to humanity, is rather to be desired than great riches; that rules, regulations and laws cannot make men good or solve the vexed question as to the relations of man to man. Kindness, forbearance, unselfishness, and love should influence each in his treatment of others. Mr. Jones' life points out to all that love, not force, is the most potent influence in the world for good.

FRANK T. CARLTON.

Toledo, Ohio.

## THE HARP OF LIFE.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

A WOMAN stands between me and the light.

Through all the tireless years that lie upon my small, misshapen body, since the day she took my fingers from my mother's—dead, and led me over here to be her boy, I 've seen her thus; and see her now, though years her body has been dust, between me and the light—my Aunt Regina.

That light men shun, because its radi-

ance will disclose the gaping, unhealed wound within the soul. And yet, we're better for the hour we sometimes snatch from care, when first we feel the hand of Age come stealing o'er Life's harp-strings, to sit before the light of Memory and muse on things that youth held sacred.

Regina: sweet, old-fashioned name to some; to some a trifle stilted, aping ancient lore. To me, beyond the old-time quaintness of the syllables, I see my Aunt, my foster-mother, my woman-saint; and seeing, I hear no longer the Regina of the tongue, but Regina—Queen.

A queen behind the counter of a shop? Aye, in a factory, 'mong gunny-sacks and bags and common men's most common

furnishings.

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A throne will sometimes dignify a queen —not all women lend dignity to labor.

From my lounge here in the corner I watch her draw her chair before the fire and reach down in the basket at her side for socks and darning-thread. Busy, always busy. It is scarce three little hours since bell and factory-whistle set her free; yet we, the six of us, and she have had our supper, lessons done and tasks looked after, and now she settles to her humble work of darning.

Lone women have need of stout hearts no less than shoulders, and there are some in whose souls self dies grandly in the arms of brother-love. And such my Aunt,—

Regina.

First, there is Uncle Clay, her heaviest care; brimful of hobbies that require her constant watching to prove their worth-lessness before he mounts.

And there is Robert, just starting out upon the sea of common business-life; his craft needs guiding till the reefs and rocks are mastered.

And Frank, generous and tender, impulsive as a tinder-box, with May always to set the fire to that same tinder.

And then there is Richard; careless, happy Dick, of whom my Aunt is never sure until her hands have tucked him into bed; and I, a hunch-back cripple. Six of us—six penniless orphans, and looking for our meager crust to her, a penniless aunt.

The firelight plays about her small, gray head and sets a halo 'round the calm, sweet face. And as I watch I feel the salt tears steal along my face, recalling the time when that same white-haired woman was the merriest maid in all our village.

"And the handsomest," John Eastman said; to which she answered:

"And the happiest, John."

My father owned the factory, and my uncle took my orphan aunt to live with him,—a rollicking, happy girl whom Mother called her "little sister 'Genie."

Aunt 'Genie, they said, was just a trifle selfish, fond of her own sweet will and loving girlish nonsense. Only John Eastman, the factory superintendent, saw none of this; for John had always found his jewel flawless, and had sought and won it

to wear in his heart forever.

Selfish? May be, may be. Her girlish grief when my poor mother died and gave me to her keeping, asking that she postpone her marriage-day one little year for my poor sake,—her grief, I say, was natural. She wept, 'tis true, but promised, and sent for John and told him they must wait. He begged, scoffed and protested, but my Aunt was firm. A promise to the dead is always weirdly binding.

"A year," she said, "and we'll be then more fitted to assume our strange, new

care."

Burden she would not say; but I knew it was a burden to lay upon young shoulders; a cruel sacrifice to ask of one, a woman too, who never having home had halted, breathless with joy, one brief, bright moment on the threshold of a throne, a husband's heart and fireside.

"'T will be a long, long year to me,"

John said, when at last he yielded.

Selfish? May be, may be. Perhaps 't was selfishness that wrung the cry of rank rebellion from her lips when at the year's end my uncle's wife, too, left the walks of earth, and two more orphans clamored for her mothering.

"I can 't," she told her brother. "Oh,

George, I cannot."

"Just a little season, 'Genie," he begged.

"Just till we 've learned to start the homewheels moving without their mother."

"But John?" she argued. "I owe him

something, too."

And then my Uncle, with cool, cutting words, set the silence on her lips forever:

"And no one else?" said he. "I remember Eunice once, and I gave love and shelter to a little homeless girl." Her lips went white before the uncanceled obligation. Her debts had come, like other debts, to face her at the unexpected moment. She shivered, as in the the presence of a terror, and bowed her head in silent acceptance of his terms.

That scene and hour will haunt my heart forever. Boy as I was, I understood it was a battle of a woman's soul. If drew my twisted body high upon my pillows then, and from my shadowed corner watched the conflict that I could not share.

My Uncle leaned against the mantel, heavy-eyed and weary. My Aunt stood straight, stricken dumb, her hand upon a chair before him. Was it the premonition of the future that sent the shadow to her eyes, the strange calm to her lips? The young face bowed, lifted, and in that brief space the girl gave place to woman. And with the change the sun shifted in the half-drawn window and lay upon the bright, brown head in loving tenderness, just as the firelight caught the gray strands later.

"I will come, George."

Did self die in the promise? Not quite. Before the year was gone self struck another blow for home and husband's arms.

But even self stood dumb before the visitor that came with unexpected haste one night, tapped at our door, and beckoned; and my Uncle George, with time for just one hurried call:

"God bless you, 'Genie; do n't forget the children," and he made haste to follow

forth with that strange presence.

A scourge! The cry passed from throat to throat, from lip to lip. The fever, the fatal Southern scourge, was sweeping o'er the land. Self hid her head one fleeting moment while the dying wailed. The next day little Annie laid her hot cheek to my Aunt's, and sobbing just a little as she went, whispered in her ear:

"The blessedest, best Auntie," and left

us, with that blessing.

Death played on many heart-strings in that stricken Southern village, but none were swept as hers, my Aunt's.

Selfish? Ah! it was time for self to

die in her proud soul. The scourge had willed it so. A runner came at midnight, when the third day's dust was hardly dry on little Annie's grave. And this time it was John; dear, loving, patient John, who held death back to say:

"Do n't blame yourself, dear heart; you did your duty, 'Genie, and —— God

bless you."

Self? Self heard the cry her soul sent up, and bowed its head in sackcloth.

We never called her 'Genie after that, but once—the day they buried John; and with a look of hopeless pain upon her face she answered:

"Say Aunt Regina, child."

The years have crowded fast since then, in spite of crippled feet, and crippled hearts that give back echoes for answers.

Five and thirty: they are notched upon

my crutch here.

Five and thirty. The factory passed to strangers, and the gaunt wolf found our door. There were no hands to work but hers; and laughing in self's own rebuking face, she went forth to her humble duty.

Regina, Queen!

My Uncle Clay? A wanderer somewhere on the earth until, but yesterday (it seems) the news that she was gone had served to bring him home.

A woman stands between me and the light; a queen in factory garments, the marks of common labor on her hands, and

a halo 'round her hair.

She paid her debt; her obligation canceled with her soul's best longings. When love died, the love of others warmed her breast; and in the factory where she toiled hungry little children lifted up their eyes to see her pass and caught Peace's heart-beats in her passing.

Selfish? May be, may be. At first; till "Love took up the harp of life," and

self passed out of sight in music.

A throne may dignify a woman; not many women give a dignity to labor, feed the hungry, nurse the sick, shelter the homeless, as she did—Regina, Queen.

WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

Estill Springs, Tenn.

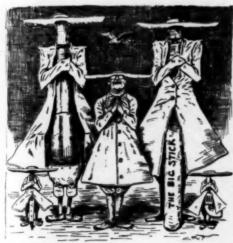
# POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Davenport, in New York Evening Mail,

LEST WE FORGET.

(By special permission of the New York Evening Mail.)



Bush, in New York World.
"LET US HAVE PEACE!"

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Bush, in New York World. "S-S-SH!"

## 414 Politics, The People and The Trusts as Seen by Cartoonists.



Johnson, in Denver Times.
"THIS IS THE NATURAL RESULT OF YOUR POLICY, GOVERNOR!"



Warren, in Boston Herald.

WHERE THE BIG STICK IS NEEDED.



Ryan Walker, in Appeal to Reason





Ryan Walker, in Appeal to Reason.

A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE LABOR Ryan Walker, in Appeal to Reason.

SOCIALIST VIEW OF GEN. BELL You have nothing to lose but your chains.

OF COLORADO.

SOCIALIST UNION MAR.—Can't let you. As a union man, I must keep out of polities.

THAT'S ALL.



(Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.) F. Opper, in New York American MAMMA AND THE BABIES-NO RACE-SUICIDE FOR HERS.



Rehse, in St. Paul Pioneer-Press.

"ME ALLEE SAMEE VELLY MUCH NEUTTAL!"



AT HOME AND ABROAD-OUT OF THE SAME MILL!



Bushnell, in Nashville Daily News. HOW WOULD THIS DO?

Panama is offering a \$200 prize for an acceptable design for a Coat-of Arms and National Flag.—News Item.



Reeves, in London Justice.

### THE IMPERIAL INDIAN JUGGERNAUT.

THE IMPERIAL INDIAN JUGGERNAUT.

A Lahore message states that the wheat harvest in the Punjab has been so heavy that the grain cannot be cleared. Hundreds of thousands of bags, 'it is stated, are lying at the railway stations, 'and in many instances the contents have even been left to rot.'' It is the most melancholy characteristic of Indian famine, as we have had occasion to point out before, and a lamentable commentary on Indian administration, that the people starve, not because there is no money wherewith to buy.—Morning Leader.

Bush, in New York World.

STILL LURING 'EM ON.



De Mar, in Philadelphia Record.

HAVE WE TWO GODDESSES OF LIBERTY?



Biggers, in Nashville Banner. THE SITUATION IN THE FAR EAST.



### EDITORIALS.

#### PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP OF STREET-RAILWAYS: A CRITICISM AND A REPLY.

ELOW we publish in full an article which recently appeared in the Boston Evening Transcript, because it affords an admirable illustration of one unfortunate phase of modern urban journalism, wherein recklessness in the employment of epithets is frequently not unmixed with mendacity-a phase which we believe is largely due to the ethically demoralizing influence exerted by public-service corporations and interests dependent upon special privileges, which through having stockholders in various newspapers or through advertising patronage or other methods of exercising their influence frequently place editors in a position where, even though they may at times mildly favor public ownership editorially, find it expedient to publish more or less specious specialpleadings which are to say the least inaccurate, misleading and unwarranted.

Articles of similar tenor to the following are by no means surprising when they appear in papers that are recognized as special-pleaders for private corporations against the best interests and the palpable rights of the people, but in times past the Transcript has been known to frankly champion the interests of the people and to refrain from the cheap pettifogging and misleading methods of special-pleaders that are common among papers given over to the advocacy of corporation interests. This was notably the case in the autumn of 1899; when the Boston Elevated company succeeded in convincing all the leading dailies of Boston excepting the Transcript of the wisdom of supporting its scheme for having the tracks relaid on Tremont street. Then, it will be remembered, the Transcript stood for the cause of the people and subjected itself to much of the kind of sophistical criticism it now employs in the article we are now considering. Hence it is the subject of deep regret to observe such slurring and unwarranted language and assertions as the following employed in reference to our editorial note in the August ARENA:

"A Word About Municipal Ownership. -THE ARENA, in commenting on the results of municipal operation of the street-car lines in Berne, Switzerland, indulges in some unwarrantable comparison and criticism. The comments in question are typical of a species of argument from unfounded assumption and unsound analogy, very popular with certain advocates of municipal ownership. THE ARENA states:

"'The city of Berne, Switzerland, bought the street-car lines in 1902, and has since been operating them in the interests of all the people. Last year the system showed a net profit of over \$35,500, and it is needless to say that the people are gainers in many other ways, for where a monopoly is operated by private individuals the public is invariably compelled to put up with conditions that the electorate would not tolerate from the public service. This fact is frequently pointed out in England, where in every instance after the municipalities have taken over the roads the service has been markedly improved from what it was under private ownership.

"In America the public pays princely dividends on watered stock, and as a result a large proportion of the citizens are compelled to pay for strap-service instead of seats. In Boston alone the net earnings of the street-railroads are from over three million dollars to four million dollars annually, yet a very large proportion of our citizens are compelled each morning and evening to stand during the entire trip. Only the influence which the private-service companies have over legislators and over the great daily press render such shameful conditions

possible under the circumstances.'

'This criticism of the Boston street-car service is undeserved and misleading, and the critic himself doubtless knows that it is. The strap-service' of which the critic complains results not from the inefficiency or greediness of the operating company, but from the peculiarly difficult conditions with which it has to deal. The necessity of moving during rush hours an enormous volume of traffic from a highly-congested business-center of very small area, is the troublesome factor in the Boston transit-problem. None of the English cities—not to mention little Berne—has anything like this to contend with. There is no reason to believe that municipal enterprise would cope with this difficulty more successfully than does corporate enterprise. Indeed, no one who is accustomed to look at conditions and facts rather than to deal with theories and assumptions, can doubt that private operation of the street-car lines in this city gives results far more satisfactory than could be obtained through municipal ownership. Only purblind zealots for municipal ownership can persuade themselves to think otherwise."

Two propositions are advanced above as excuses for the attempt to belittle the facts and comparisons employed by us. Both call for examination.

1. To quote the *Transcript*: "The 'strapservice' of which the critic complains results not from the inefficiency or greediness of the operating company, but from the peculiarly difficult conditions with which it has to deal." In other words, it is due to the inability of the company to handle the traffic, and not to its cupidity, that a large proportion of our citizens are compelled to pay for "strap-service" and platform and running-board standing-room during rush hours.

• 2. It is claimed that there is no reason to believe that under public ownership conditions would or could be better. Nay, more. We are assured with that spirit of recklessness that characterizes much present-day special-pleading, that "the private operation of street-cars in this city gives results far more satisfactory than could be obtained through municipal

ownership."

11.

It is difficult to believe that the above could be the result of pitiful and inexcusable ignorance on the part of the author. We are inclined to believe that he is merely parrotting the sophistry of the unscrupulous special-pleaders for the railway, without stopping to investigate the subject sufficiently to see the falsity of the claims.

A few facts that are incontrovertible and that show how large a number of our citizens are placed at a shameful disadvantage by the action of the street-railway company will serve to illustrate how inaccurate and wide of the truth is the sweeping statement made above in relation to the inability of the company to accommodate the public.

The vast majority of the South-End surfacecars, as all familiar with Boston know, enter and leave the Subway at the Public Garden. During recent years the lower part of Boylston street, between the Colonial Theater and Berkeley street, and the adjacent territory has been largely given over to stores and great officebuildings in which numbers of persons are regularly employed, a large proportion of whom live either in Cambridge, Allston, Brighton, Brookline, Jamaica Plain, Milton, Roxbury, Newton, Watertown, or the upper parts of Huntington avenue and adjacent streets; while the upper parts of Boylston street and Huntington avenue and their feeders have enormously increased in population, due not only to the many large apartment-houses and hotels which have gone up, but also to the opening of schools in these regions which are largely attended; such institutions, for example, as the New England Conservatory of Music, Tufts Medical and Dental Colleges, the Emerson College of Oratory, the Massachusetts Commercial College, the Fælton Pianoforte School, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. As a result, almost every night of the year during the rush hours large crowds of people are found at the mouth of the Subway and at the corners of Arlington, Berkeley, Clarendon and Darmouth streets, waiting for an opportunity to obtain standing-room on cars that are already crowded before they emerge from the Subway. I speak from experience. For several years my office was in the Pierce Building, Copley square, and during that time I was compelled to depend upon the "strap-service" in over-crowded cars, or, what was still more frequent, I was obliged to stand on the front or rear platforms, even during the most inclement weather. In the morning the great majority of persons who have occasion to go down into the city to their employment and who board or lodge on Huntington avenue, Boylston street and adjacent streets are compelled to stand because the suburban cars are usually crowded long before they reach these

Now at Park square, at the junction of Boylston, Charles and Eliot streets and Columbus avenue, is the Park-square loop, on which, if the company was as desirous of serving the people as it is of earning enormous dividends, it could easily run, say one car on each line that now leaves the Subway at the Public Garden, every five minutes during the rush hours; and in this way the enormous number

of patrons on the streets mentioned, who have at the present time no chance for seats, could be accommodated, and the congestion at the Boylston and Tremont-street Subway-station would also be materially lessened, as the close proximity of Park square would lead a large proportion of the people who now enter the Subway to go to the former starting point. And under municipal ownership, judging from the improvement which has marked the service when cities of the Old World have taken over the street-car lines, such accommodations would be promptly given to the public, although of course this would tend to cut down the large dividends about which our critic would have us believe the Boston Elevated Railway company is so indifferent.

This is one typical illustration of what could and would be done if the interests of the people and not the question of dividends were of first

concern.

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Moreover, the Subway congestion plea has been largely over-worked. All persons familiar with the ingenuity and mental fertility and resources of the adroit special-pleaders for private corporations know that certain plausible statements and catch-phrases are relied upon to prevent the people from receiving their just rights. One of these false but to the railway fortunate sophistries, long employed in Boston with success, was the claim that it was impossible to enclose the front and rear platforms of the cars in winter, because of the congested character of Boston's thoroughfares. It was dogmatically asserted, when we claimed that other cities had no difficulty, that 'conditions in Boston were entirely different and that the introduction of the glass-protected platforms would be attended by numerous and serious accidents. This sophistry was advanced by special-pleaders for the road and was echoed and parrotted by the unthinking on every hand for a long time before the sincere friends of the people could arouse public sentiment to the point where the state compelled the company to go to the expense of protecting the platforms, which the dividend-seeking corporation had so long claimed was impracticable.

The congested Subway argument is of much the same character, as was shown a few years ago when the *Transcript* stood with the people in opposition to the relaying of the tracks on Tremont street. It was loudly claimed at that time that the road could not—not would not, but could not—expeditiously handle the Subway traffic; whereupon the leaders of the citi-

zens' movement which was represented by the Transcript but opposed by other dailies, showed conclusively that when the road desired it could expeditiously handle crowds far greater than the crowds during the ordinary rush hours. It was shown that on Dewey Day and on the day of the Yale-Harvard football game, when there were tens of thousands of visitors in the city, the company had no difficulty whatever in promptly handling the enormous crowds.

Many of our citizens will call to mind the various special pleas advanced in the fall of 1899 by the Boston daily press, which represented the railway interests, but which were effectively answered by the Transcript and those who led the movement for the people. Especially was the misleading special-pleading and palpable sophistry of the advocates of the road exposed in the famous Socratic presentation of the people's side of the case which was issued by a committee of public-spirited citizens, of which Mr. B. F. Keith, Dr. Morton Prince and Professor Frank Parsons were leading spirits. In this popular presentation of the case, which unquestionably largely contributed to the overwhelming defeat of the railway company by a majority of 25,331 votes, this very question of the inability of the company to handle the traffic through congestion in the Subway, which had been so vigorously employed by the advocates of the road in precisely the manner that the Transcript now uses it, was ably met and disproved, as will be seen by the following questions and answers which appeared in this famous circular:

"Question—Are the through tracks in the Subway fully occupied?

"Answer—The Transit Commission reports that they are not used to anything like their full

capacity.

"Question—If the crowds of Dewey Day and Harvard-Yale football Day were handled with complete success, why not the every-day crowds?

"Answer-Because, as the Transit Commission officially charges, the Subway is not

worked to its full capacity.

"Question—Cannot the Elevated Railway get two additional tracks in the Subway from Shawmut avenue to Scollay square if they should be needed?

"Answer—Yes, by simply carrying out its contract with the city to accept and pay for enlargement of the Subway whenever required. See Railroad Commissioner's Report for 1898, page 232.

"Question—Why should any workingmen vote for surface transit?

"Answer—So that the Elevated Railway can save money by not enlarging the Subway.

"Question—Who said the public would never use the Subway and tried hard to make such the fact?

"Answer—The Elevated Railway's predecessor, the West End Street-Railway.

"Question—Who said it would not raise a finger to put the tracks back on Tremont street?

"Answer—The Elevated Railway, but it is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars for this purpose."

III.

If in the assertion about the inability of the Boston Elevated Railway company to abate the "strap-service" we have an exhibition of inexcusable ignorance or of mendacity, the assumption that municipal ownership would give no relief, and indeed would give poorer service than that from which the private company is reaping from three to four million dollars annually, is also wholly unwarranted from legitimate inferences based on the results of public-ownership where it has been most fully tested. Take Glasgow, for example. We have in our possession, and shall probably give to our readers in our next issue, a full statement of facts relating to public-ownership and operation of the street-cars of Glasgow, furnished us by the highest officers of the service in answer to thirty questions which we addressed to the head of the department of municipal tram-service. These answers, among other things, show conclusively how immensely the service has been improved in every respect since the city took the street-cars over from the private corporation. Mr. Bellamy, the head of the municipal tram-service of Liverpool has clearly shown that a like result has there followed the city's operation of the car-service. Similar reports come from Leeds, Sheffield and other cities of Great Britain where public ownership has superseded private ownership. Not only do the actual results conclusively prove our position to be sound and that of the Transcript unwarranted, but reason also indicates that such would be the natural result.

So long as the public press is silent when not engaged in special pleadings for the street-rail-way corporations, and the company is busily engaged in seeing how many millions of dollars in net earnings it can acquire each year, it stands to reason that there will be little relief from over-crowded cars or "strap-service." But when the city owns and operates the street-car service for the benefit of the whole community instead of for the enrichment of the few, the first concern will be to give the passengers seats and comfort in transit, and secondly to earn money to be applied to lowering of carfares or to the reduction of the taxes of the citizens.

We have dwelt at length on this question because it is a typical example of reckless newspaper criticism in which the writers who play the part of special-pleaders for special interests invariably seek to belittle the import of the facts advanced by friends of public-ownership and strive to break the force of the arguments set forth by slurring epithets and resorts to inaccurate, misleading and not unfrequently false statements, and also because this question of public ownership is bound to become more and more a living issue in America; and as the magazines which are now among the greatest aggressive conscience-forces in the republic succeed in arousing the public, we may expect many more examples of this species of attack from the special-pleaders for private-corporations.

# THE BLUE PERIL; OR, THE UN-AMERICAN SITUATION IN OUR GREAT MUNICIPALITIES UNDER THE REIGN OF GRAFT.

ONE OF the most alarming features of present-day American municipal life is strikingly illustrated by Mr. Beard in his cartoon drawn expressly for this issue of The Arena. Through the union of the political boss, the partisan machine and the public-ser-

vice corporations there has grown up a condition which has resulted at once in oppressing the masses and deadening the public conscience,—a condition that is becoming more and more intolerable and which is striking a deadly blow at the very life of free institutions.



THE BLUE PERIL.

THE UN-AMERICAN SITUATION IN OUR GREAT MUNICIPALITIES UNDER THE REIGN OF GRAFT.

"What are you going to do about it?"

No republic can live with justice blindfolded, the spirit of democracy gagged, and law, liberty and religion under the foot of an irrespon-

sible constabulary.

The startling illustrations of crime enthroned in municipal government and becoming allpowerful through a venal and conscienceless police-service are strikingly brought out in Mr. Beard's cartoon. These conditions are not new in New York. They have obtained, with brief intermissions, from the days of the Tweed ring. Corrupt wealth and privileged interests have made the reign of graft of frightful reality, not only in New York, but in St. Louis, Chicago, and various other municipalities. This is an evil that calls for the union of all citizens who would preserve popular government and reëstablish purity and justice in municipal life. It calls for the active, untiring efforts of all high-minded electors; for consecration to a cause that is vital to republican institutions: for enlistment in a battle in which there should be no truce, no parleving, and no quarter granted to the corrupt criminal element

in power and to the trinity of the pit responsible for its presence in municipal life,-the political boss, the party machine, and the public-service corporations which render the boss and his machine invincible through enormous campaign contributions given with the pledge or understanding that in return the donors shall receive free immensely valuable franchises or immunity from the just consequences of unlawful acts or callings. Despotism, corruption and moral degeneration working through public and private life will increase until the people unite for the destruction of conditions that render possible this debauching of the public-service. Direct Legislation or the introduction of the initiative and referendum into municipal government, by which the people could compel action on desired measures and could veto any corrupt or undesirable acts passed by the municipal authorities, would effectively destroy this deadly evil and give us again in our municipalities pure, just and republican government.

# "SIR EDWIN ARNOLD AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS AND IDEALS": A CRITICISM AND A REPLY.

WE HAVE received the following thoughtful and suggestive criticism of our editorial in the July Arena on Sir Edwin Arnold. It is from the pen of a Doctor of Philosophy who is a well-known educator, holding at the present time an important position in a state institution of learning in one of our great Western commonwealths. He veils his identity under the pen-name of "Frater Occidentalis," which he has at various times employed in the past when discussing religious questions:

"The strong and able editorial entitled 'Sir Edwin Arnold and Nineteenth-Century Religious Concepts and Ideals' published in the July Arena, finds no more enthusiastic believer than myself in its main proposition. But incidentally it asserts, or rather takes for granted, a proposition which I deem a pernicious heresy. You say:

"'As Dr. Watts reflected the popular religious ideals of the England of his day in regard to death, . . . so did this poem express the newer concepts of death, or rather the concept that was new to the modern Christian church; for it must be remembered that the thought in these verses was expressed by an Arabian poet in the twelfth century.'

"You very ably elaborate this thought, and this is the impression you leave with me: The modern Christian and medieval Arabian view of death is that it is simply the entering into a larger, fuller, more God-filled Life, that the body left behind is simply the discarded shell, the worn-out garment of the soul. That hence this life should be looked on only as an introduction to the life eternal.

"Now I submit that this, instead of being a nineteenth-century acquisition of the Christian church, is its oldest dogma. This is precisely the one doctrine about which there is no dispute among religious people. Watts and Wigglesworth, Luther and the popes, the monks in the middle ages and the Salvation Army to-day, sixteenth-century theologians and twentieth-century revivalists, all can subscribe to every sentiment in the quoted poem. More than

that: Every shade of sentiment expressed, every figure of speech used in that poem can be duplicated from Christian literature from any one century you choose since the Christian Era.

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e l, "Alas the opposite is true. The modern world is de-Christianized, and with our Christianity we have lost our faith in personal and individual immortality. In any Christian century before the nineteenth Sir Edwin Arnold's religious ideas would have been so commonplace that it is doubtful if they would have brought any fame; but the nineteenth century so seldom heard any living voice proclaim the belief in immortality that they snatched hungrily these delicious morsels from the rich table of faith that was their fathers'.

"Yes, Mr. Editor, we might just as well admit it. You and I, the orthodox and the 'new-thought' people are in the minority. The vast majority of civilized mankind does not, indeed, deny immortality, O, dear no! but they do n't believe in it. Their names may be in church registers, and they may listen to the doctrine every Sunday, but it is not a living belief. Their thoughts, their hopes, their aspirations, their plans, all end at the grave. They think of their departed friends as annihilated. How many of your acquaintances would, provided some one could settle the question authoritively for them, dare to bet as much on the proposition of the immortality of the human soul as on the success of their side in the next political election?

"As a whole, our civilization is atheistic, materialistic, and agnostic in its attitude to immortality. We have no vital, popular belief outside of our faith in atoms, cells and vibrations. It was not always thus. There have been Ages of Faith. Coarse and crude they were, but man then believed that there was something that was Infinitely Worth While.

"But now mankind knows of nothing that is infinitely worth while.

"Hence the supernal value of Sir Edwin Arnold's or anybody's else message which contains an echo from our forgotten paradise."

With one thing which our critic says we are in hearty accord. We agree that the dead hand of materialism is resting on the heart and soul of the church as well as the world. That there is a deep-seated skepticism within the rank and file of the membership of our modern churches is palpably in evidence in the moral inertia that is everywhere apparent and which would be impossible were the church aflame with the ethical enthusiasm that a living faith inspires. It is true that nominally Christianity is flourishing. More and more costly sectarian schools, colleges and churches are being builded. Nominally and when it comes to the defence of dogma, rite, ritual and the externals, the church is much in evidence; but as a mighty regenerating influence such as was the primitive church, Christianity to-day is to a great degree a comparative failure.

But on the other hand, within and without the church is seen a growing spiritual and moral enthusiasm among those whom Matthew Arnold called "the remnant" that promises, we believe, a spiritual renaissance immeasurable in its rejuvenating potency.

But this vital, religious element is strong and effective because it is not under the spell of the old theological concepts or the old "religious ideals" relating to God and the future that darkened the religious world from the days of Calvin till the liberal reaction led by such master-minds as Dr. William Ellery Channing in the early part of the last century, and Beecher and Drummond among the orthodox and Hale and Savage among the liberals of later days.

If our critic and our readers will compare Arnold's reasonable and we think thoroughly twentieth-century concept of God and the future estate of man after the crisis called death with the theological discussions, the poems and hymns of the master-spirits of orthodoxy, from Calvin and Milton down to Cotton Mather and Michael Wigglesworth, the difference in the point-of-view-the radical difference in the concept of God and the future state-will be perfectly apparent. Compare, for example, the picture of the spirit released from the body but in no wise changed further than being liberated from that which was the source of most of its temptations, that which obscured the spiritual vision—a spirit that was cognizant of all going on around, from the time of its transition, so beautifully drawn by the Arabian poet and retouched by Sir Edwin Arnold, with the following extracts from the once-popular hymns of Dr. Watts -hymns embodying the popular orthodox concepts of the hereafter as entertained long after the death of the great hymnnologist:

"My thoughts on awful subjects roll,— Damnation and the dead; What horrors seize the guilty soul, Upon a dying bed. Ling'ring about these mortal shores, She makes a long delay; Till, like a flood with rapid force, Death sweeps the wretch away.

Then, swift and dreadful she descends Down to the fiery coast, Amongst abominable fiends, Herself a frighted ghost.

There endless crowds of sinners lie,
And darkness makes their chains:
Tortur'd with keen despair, they cry:
Yet wait for fiercer pains.

Not all their anguish and their blood For their old guilt atones; Nor the compassion of a God Shall hearken to their groans."

Here is another companion hymn:

"With holy fear, and humble song,
The dreadful God our souls adore;
Rev'rence and awe become the tongue,
That speaks the terrors of His power.
Far in the deep, where darkness dwells,
The land of horror and despair,—
Justice has built a dismal hell,
And laid her stores of vengeance there.

Eternal plagues and heavy chains,
Tormenting racks and fiery coals,—
And darts, t' inflict immortal pains,
Dy'd in the blood of damnéd souls.
There Satan, the first sinner, lies,
And roars, and bites his iron bands;
In vain the rebel strives to rise,
Crushed with the weight of both thy hands.

Their guilty ghosts of Adam's race Shriek out, and howl beneath thy rod: Once they could scorn a Saviour's grace, But they incens'd a dreadful God. Tremble, my soul, and kiss the Son: Sinner, obey thy Saviour's call; Else your damnation hastens on, And hell gapes wide to wait your fall."

Below, the pious author gives us a graphic pen-picture of God as seen by his mental vision:

"His nostrils breathe out fiery streams; And, from his awful tongue, A sovereign voice divides the flames, And thunder rolls along. Think, O my soul, the dreadful day, When the incensed God Shall rend the sky, and burn the sea, And fling his wrath abroad!

What shall the wretch, the sinner do?

He once defied the Lord!

But he shall dread the Thunderer now,

And sink beneath his word.

Tempests of angry fire shall roll,
To blast the rebel worm,—
And beat upon his naked soul
In one eternal storm."

Again, take Dr. Wigglesworth's Day of Doom. Not less than nine editions of this work were sold in New England in early times. It was also twice republished in England. From a commercial point-of-view it was the most remarkable success in the history of colonial literature, as it is stated that, next to the Bible and the almanac, more copies of The Day of Doom were sold than of any other work in colonial times. This success must have rested chiefly on the popularity of the thought contained, as, aside from weird poetic flashes now and then present, the literary quality of the work is far below mediocrity. The book was bound in sheep, exactly like the binding employed for Bibles and hymn-books of the period. Each page bore marginal notes, giving the passages of Scripture which suggested the scene de-How different from the Arabian poet's concept of death are the ideas all-butuniversally accepted by our fathers and which in his poem Dr. Wigglesworth thus presents:

"Before his throne a trump is blown,
Proclaiming the day of doom:
Forthwith he cries, 'Ye dead arise,
And unto the judgment come.'
No sooner said, but 't is obeyed;
Sepulchres opened are:
Dead bodies all rise at his call,
And 's mighty power declare."

The saved are then judged, or rather their salvation is thus described:

"My sheep draw near, your sentence hear, which is to you no dread,

Who clearly now discern, and know your sins are pardoned.

"T was meet that ye should judgéd be, that so the world may spy No cause of grudge, when as I judge and deal impartially.

Know therefore all, both great and small, the ground and reason why

These men do stand at my right hand, and look so cheerfully.

These men be those my Father chose before the world's foundation,

And to me gave, that I should save from death and condemnation."

The elect having been thus disposed of, Jesus turns to those who were not of the company chosen for Him by God before "the world's foundation." After dealing with various classes of sinners in a manner which might well excite the envy of an Oriental despot whose heart had long been steeled against all the divine emotions, Christ proceeds to judge those whose lives had been pure, holy, honest and upright, but whose greatness of soul had rendered it impossible for them to grovel before a God represented by His most zealous followers as infinitely more brutal and cruel than the worst man born of woman. The scene described is characteristic of the thought of the age, and when reading it one ceases to wonder that witches were hanged in Salem, or that Roger Williams was banished from the Massachusetts Colony; for a firm belief in such a God would naturally inspire persecution. This is the picture as seen through the poetical spectacles of the reverend gentleman:

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"Then were brought nigh a company of civil, honest men

That loved true dealing, and hated stealing, ne'er wrong'd their brethren;

Who pleaded thus, 'Thou knowest us that we were blameless livers;

No whoremongers, no murderers, no quarrellers nor strivers."

Jesus admits that they have been all they claim, but proceeds:

"And yet that part, whose great desert you think to reach so far

For your excuse, doth you accuse, and will your boasting mar.

However fair, however square your way and work hath been,

Before men's eyes, yet God espies iniquity therein.

You much mistake, if for their sake you dream of acceptation:

Whereas the same deserveth shame and meriteth damnation."

This picture, however, pales into insignificance before what follows. Dr. Wigglesworth had a case to make out; it was a bad case; it outraged every instinct of justice and love in the fiber of manhood, but he had the audacity bravely to face the issue; and though we cannot praise his logic, we are forced to admire his courage. This is the fate he describes awaiting millions of little buds of humanity who passed from life in infancy:

"Then to the bar, all they drew near who dy'd in infancy,

And never had or good or bad effected pers'nally.

But from the womb unto the tomb were straightway carried,

Or at the last e'er they transgrest who thus began to plead:

If for our own transgressions, or disobedience We here did stand at thy left hand, just were the recompense;

But Adam's guilt our souls hath spilt, his fault is charg'd on us;

And that alone hath overthrown, and utterly undone us.

Not we, but he ate of the tree, whose fruit was interdicted:

Yet on us all of his sad fall, the punishment's inflicted.

How could we sin that had not been, or how is his sin our

Without consent, which to prevent, we never had a pow'r?

O great Creator, why was our nature depravéd and forlorn?

Why so defil'd, and made so vil'd whilst we were yet unborn?

Behold we see Adam set free, and sav'd from his trepass,

Whose sinful fall hath spilt us all, and brought us to this pass.

Canst thou deny us once to try, or grace to us to tender,

When he finds grace before thy face, that was the chief offender?"

Jesus is then represented as replying in the following language:

"What you call old Adam's fall, and only his trespass,

You call amiss to call it his, both his and yours it was.

- He was design'd of all mankind, to be a publick head.
- A common root, whence all should shoot, and stood in all their stead.
- He stood and fell, did ill or well, not for himself alone,
- But for you all, who now his fall, and trespass would disown.
- If he had stood, then all his brood, had been established
- In God's true love never to move, nor once awry to tread:
- Would you have griev'd to have receiv'd through Adam so much good,
- As had been your for evermore, if he at first had stood?
- Since then to share in his welfare, you could have been content,
- You may with reason share in his treason, and in the punishment.
- You sinners are, and such a share as sinners may expect,
- Such you shall have; for I do save none but my own *elect*.
- Yet to compare your sin with their who liv'd a long time,
- I do confess yours is much less, though every sin's a crime.
- A crime it is, therefore in bliss you may not hope to dwell;
- But unto you I shall allow the easiest room in hell.
- The glorious king thus answering, they cease, and plead no longer:
- Their consciences must needs confess his reasons are the stronger."

Having disposed of the sheep and the goats, the worthy divine lingers on the field of victory and despair much as a bee lingers over the honey-cup of a fragrant flower. While his observations were intended to illustrate the majesty and vengeance of offended Deity, they cannot be considered complimentary to either the head or heart of Jesus:

- "Now what remains, but that to pains and everlasting smart,
  - Christ should condemn the sons of men, which is their just desert;
  - Oh rueful plights of sinful wights! oh wretches all forlorn:
  - 'T had happy been they ne'er had seen the sun, or not been born.
  - Yea, now it would be good they could themselves annihilate.

- And cease to be, themselves to free from such a fearful state.
- O happy dogs, and swine and frogs: yea, serpent's generation,
- Who do not fear this doom to hear, and sentence of damnation!

  Where tender love men's hearts did move
- unto a sympathy,
  And bearing part of others' smart in their
- And bearing part of others' smart in their anxiety;
- Now such compassion is out of fashion, and wholly laid aside:
- No friends so near, but saints to hear their sentence can abide,
- The godly wife conceives no grief, nor can she shed a tear
- For the sad fate of her dear mate, when she his doom doth hear.
- He that was erst a husband pierc'd with sense of wife's distress,
- Whose tender heart did bear a part of all her grievances,
- Shall mourn no more as heretofore because of her ill-plight;
- Although he see her now to be a damn'd forsaken wight.
- The tender mother will own no other of all her numerous brood,
- But such as stand at Christ's right hand acquitted through his blood.
- The pious father had now much rather his graceless son should lie
- In hell with devils, for all his evils, burning eternally,
- Than God most high should injury, by sparing him sustain;
- And doth rejoice to hear Christ's voice adjudging him to pain.
- Who having all both great and small, con-
- vinc'd and silencéd, Did then proceed their doom to read, and
- thus it uttered. Ye sinful wights, and cursed sprites, that
- work iniquity, Depart together from me forever to endless
- misery;
  Your portion take in yonder lake, where fire
  and brimstone flameth:
- Suffer the smart, which your desert as its due wages claimeth.
- What? to be sent to punishment, and flames of burning fire,
- To be surrounded, and eke confounded with God's revengeful ire!
- What? to abide, not for a tide these torments, but forever:

To be released, or to be eased, not after years, but never.

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Oh fearful doom! now there's no room for hope or help at all:

Sentence is past which are shall last, Christ will not it recall.

There might you hear them rend and tear the air with their outcries:

The hideous noise of their sad voice ascendeth to the skies.

They wring their hands, their caitiff hands, and gnash their teeth for terrour;

They cry, they roar for anguish sore, and gnaw their tongues for horrour.

But get away, without delay, Christ pities not your cry:

Depart to hell, there may you yell, and roar eternally.

Dy fain they would, if dy they could, but death will not be had.

God's direful wrath their bodies hath for ev'r immortal made.

But who can tell the plagues of hell,

The lightest pain they there sustain more than intolerable.

But God's great pow'r from hour to hour upholds them in the fire,

That they shall not consume a jot, nor by its force expire."

Does our critic see no difference between such religious concepts of God and the future state and the rational and noble ideas beautifully set forth by the Arabian bard and so rhythmically reset by Arnold? In our opinion it was the monstrous concept of God and the future state so universally taken for granted by painters, poets and theologians of the past, which, finding expression on Angelo's canvas, in Milton's stately rhymes, in Watts' hymns, in Mather's sermons, and in Wigglesworth's Day of Doom, is directly responsible more than anything else for the materialism that is to-day found in the church. Men and women worship a God whom they conceive as doing deeds which they would shrink in horror from committing cannot express the true nobility that would flower in their lives if their ideals of Deity and duty were more exalted. The God of our fathers was fashioned on the plan of an implacable Oriental despot, who created a race of human beings even though His very attributes necessitated His knowing beforehand that the multitude would forever be doomed and the few saved; and the future state as conceived by our fathers was a tomb or a place of comparative isolation, to be followed by a bodily resurrection, after which the multitude were to be condemned to everlasting fire and brimstone as described by the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, and the saved were to be so dehumanized and brutalized as to be able to see their dearest friends thus condemned without experiencing any agony or regret. Such conceptions could not fail to produce infidels and agnostics among the nobler children of earth; and certainly such ideals are not present in the poem of the ancient Arabian bard which Arnold used as the basis of "He Who Died at Azan."

# NEW PARCELS-POST BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NORWAY.

POLLOWING closely upon the parcelspost treaty between the United States and Japan, which we recently mentioned in The Arena, comes the announcement that a parcelspost convention has been concluded between our country and Norway by which after October first the same postal relations will prevail as now obtain between this country and Germany, the maximum weight of parcels taken being four pounds, six ounces, and the maximum value fifty dollars. Owing to the

influence of the express-companies over our own politicians, the citizens of this republic are deprived of the benefits of the splendid parcels-post that is the glory of the British service and of other nations where a progressive spirit prevails and where special interests have not been able to thwart the ends of good government or prevent the people from enjoying the full measure of service which a well-ordered postal-department should afford its citizens.

### IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

#### MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP VICTORIES IN THE OLD WORLD.

THE RESULT OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP OF STREET-CARS IN SHEFFIELD, ENGLAND.

SHEFFIELD, England, since 1896, has operated her trams or street-cars. About two-thirds of the cars have double-decks. The maximum fare is two cents or one penny. Passengers riding short distances between given points pay one cent or one half-penny. During the year ending March 25, 1903, there were 56,812,049 fares paid, of which 10,672,-550 were for passengers paying only one cent. The net profits for the year were a little over \$140,500 (£28,167). From June, 1896, when the city took over the service, to March 25, 1903, the surplus amounted to over \$530,000 (£106,955). Over \$200,000 (£40,979) had also been handed over for relief of rates. city sets aside two cents per car-mile run for a reserve fund. This amounts at the present time to about \$100,000 (£20,000). For the year ending March 25, 1901, the first year after the city introduced electric traction, the municipality realized a profit of a little over \$109,000 (£21,817). For the year ending March 25, 1903, though in the meantime the city had reduced the fares, the profits realized amounted to over \$140,000.

We now come to the report for the past business year, ending March 25, 1904. Through the courtesy of Mr. Charles F. Wike, M. Inst. C. E., City Surveyor of Sheffield, we have received the following facts from the official record of the past business year:

Miles	run .						5	,768,231
Passer	ngers o	ar	rie	d			61	,450,993
Receip	ots per	c	ar-	m	ile			9.818d.
Total	worki	ng	ex	pe	nse	е,	£156,402.	17s. 8d.
							per car-	
								6.507d.
Gross	profit	8			*		£79,578.	17s. 5d.
							£27,309.	

It will be observed that the net profits for the last year were in round numbers £27,309, or about \$136,560. This is about \$4,000 less than the net profits realized the previous year. This

is doubtless due to an increase in the sum set aside for the sinking-fund, depreciation or some other fixed charge. The number of passengers carried last year was over 4,600,000 more than were carried the previous year. The expense of the car-runs for the year ending March 25, 1903, was 7.03d. per car-mile run, while it is only 6.507d. per car-mile-run for the past year, and the gross profits during the past year were in round numbers £79,578 against £76,668 for the preceding year.

The fact that the service has been greatly improved under municipal-ownership, while the fares have been substantially reduced and the city is now realizing a net annual profit of \$136,560, so overweighs all the sophistry of the paid pleaders for private corporations that in Sheffield it is needless to say there is none of the foolish twaddle about the incapacity of a city to successfully operate her street-cars, or the equally absurd and mendacious claim that private ownership and operation give better service than would be possible under municipal ownership, such as we are constantly hearing in the columns of American dailies where the owners of the papers hold stock in streetcar and other public-service companies, or where the papers are obtaining valuable advertisements from the companies that are taking hundreds of thousands and millions of dollars out of the pockets of the people which should go to the reduction of fares, the improvement of the service, and the reduction of taxes.

SPLENDID VICTORY OF MUNICIPAL-OWNER-SHIP OF THE STREET-CAR SERVICE IN LEEDS, ENGLAND.

United States Consul Hamm, of Hull, England, has done a real service to our country in reporting the result of municipal-ownership of street-railways in Leeds, England. The following facts, given in the Daily Consular Reports, should cause our people in American municipalities to awake from the torpor into

which the daily press, beholden to public-service corporations or the slaves of political machines and bosses, has lulled them by specious sophistries advanced in the interests of private companies.

The net profits realized by Leeds from her tram or street-car service for the year ending March 25, 1903, was \$371,242.66; and that realized for the last year, ending March 25, 1904, was \$416,619.79, after the following amounts had been deducted from the profits: For depreciation, \$140,837.26; for interest, \$256,450.91; and for income-tax, \$41,800.57.

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From the above it will be seen that the net profits for the past two years amounted to \$787,-862.45. From this amount \$198,468.15 was placed to the account of the redemption-fund, leaving a surplus of \$589,394.30 for reduction of the citizens' taxes. Thus over a half a million dollars in the last two years has been realized by Leeds in reduction of taxes as a result of municipal ownership. Nor is this all; for

Consul Hamm adds that fares on the streetcar lines are now two and four cents and that the wages of the employees have been advanced, while bonuses are given to all motormen every three months who have had no accidents when in charge of their cars. Thus, the consul points out, "the public are benefited in two ways,—by having lower street-car fares and by reduction in taxes."

#### MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP OF ELECTRIC-LIGHTS IN LEEDS, ENGLAND.

THE CITY of Leeds, England, owns and operates its own electric-lighting plant, with the result that the people are receiving their light at an extremely low figure; while during the year ending March 25, 1904, after deducting \$224,079.24 from gross profits for sinking fund and interest, the city realized a net profit of \$16,672.28.

#### DEMOCRATIC ADVANCE-MOVEMENTS IN THE OLD WORLD.

How The Genius of Democracy is Pervading Italy.

HAT the spirit of democracy is more and more taking possession of the imagination of the Italian people is evidenced by many significant happenings. The splendid development of the cooperative movement and the steady growth of sentiment in favor of democratic Socialism and its spirit of unrest at the slow and at times reactionary and unjust acts of the government are both impressive illustrations of the hold which the ideals of a larger and nobler because juster and freer life are taking upon the imagination of the more intelligent and rational among the masses of Italy. recent passionate outburst of delight which thrilled Italian life in all its great centers when the radical republican government in France fraternized with the Italian government and indignantly resented the impudent assumptions of the Vatican, is another straw indicating the direction of the general liberal current of thought in Italy.

But perhaps nowhere is the leavening power of pure democracy more obvious than in much of the recent legislation relating to the material and moral welfare of the people, extending as

it does to the most unfortunate of all the citizens—the criminals. Among recent typical measures looking toward the betterment of the material condition of her citizens may be mentioned the legislation passed at the urgent demand of Rome and Naples which abolishes the taxes on flour, vegetables, oils, iron and other materials in general use; the removal of all customs-duties in Naples for ten years on machinery, materials for construction and all things necessary for establishing manufactories in the community. In Rome all new buildings are to be free of land-tax, so as to encourage the building of homes, and thus relieve the unhealthy and immoral congestion, and the family-tax is to be extended so as to include members of religious orders and the strangers in the hotels. Among the proposed measures is the establishment of postal pawn-shops. The poor of Italy, as elsewhere, are the victims Pawn-shops flourish, but the of the Shylocks. general rate is about fifteen per cent., which results in the majority of cases in the loss of the articles pledged. Now the State proposes to establish at all post-offices pawn-shops where money will be advanced on pawnable articles at a reasonable rate of interest.

The greatest advance, however, in Italian

legislation to-day, which speaks most clearly of the presence of the noble spirit of progressive democracy such as Mazzini so splendidly reflected in his life and labors, is found in the recent measures for criminals. The legislation enacted has been so framed as to immensely raise the standard of government in the prisons. The directing officers must be properly instructed in medical science, so as to be able to intelligently understand pathological conditions that are often the cause of criminal acts, and to so treat such patients as to conserve the best interests of the state by curing or benefiting the unfortunate individuals. Many employees of the prisons in the future will be taken from the elementary teachers in Italy, that the prisons may become schools for the development of the body, brain and soul as well as places of detention for the protection of society. The suspension of sentences and probationary systems for first offences will also in the future mark penal administration in Italy. This exhibition of the wisdom of enlightened statesmanship and its recognition of the high duty of society to carry the spirit of true religion into the treatment of our most unfortunate class indicates as does nothing else the moral advance and the out-blossoming of the spirit of true democracy in Italy.

THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE VATICAN.

SEVERAL events of deep general interest have recently taken place in France. The practical severance of the old-time relation existing between the republic and the Roman hierarchy since the signing of the Concordat indicates the advent of a new epoch in the religious history of France, and there seems little doubt but what the stand taken by the government will be sanctioned by parliament when it assembles. Prime Minister Combes, to the amazement and confusion of the reactionaries, seems to possess the confidence of the nation in his bold and radical course. This fact was strikingly indicated in recent elections, where the government has been overwhelmingly successful at the polls. When one remembers that nominally France is one of the most Catholic nations of Europe, it appears singular that the drastic measures taken by the republic meet with such general favor. But those who have followed the history of France during recent decades and who know how intimate were the relations existing between the Jesuits and other reactionary orders and the monarchists and militarists, so strikingly brought out in Zola's great novel, Truth, will find a clue to this phenomenon. Whenever Rome seeks political domination and the people gain a reasonable amount of freedom and enlightenment, or in a word when the spirit of democracy is actively present in the public imagination and dogmatic religion attempts to meddle with secular affairs the people resent such intrusion. We remember a few years ago being astonished, when visiting Mexico, to find in that nominally Catholic country that no monasteries or convents were permitted by the government, and that the republic would not recognize marriages performed by the church. Yet the republican government and its great President were passionately loved by the people, though the vast majority were nominally Catholic.

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PRIME-MINISTER COMBES OUTLINES THE POLICY OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

IN A NOTABLE address recently delivered at Carcassonne, the Premier of France thus summed up the policy of the present government:

"We have assumed the responsibility of direction of public affairs solely in order to realize a determined programme, of which France already knows the main lines: before all and above all the complete secularization of our society by the complete victory of the lay spirit over the clerical spirit; in the second place, the reform of our military organization and the reduction of the duration of the service to two years; in the third place, the introduction into our financial legislation of imposts upon the revenue as corrective of the inequalities and injustices of our fiscal régime; in the fourth place, the passage of laws for the assistance of the workingmen and the establishment of oldage pensions for them, aims which have been always understood and which have been in a sense the object of all the laws, projects and propositions of laws of social order, which have secured or retained in the last fifteen years the solicitude of the republican assemblies.

"The ministry has devoted itself assiduously to the execution of this programme. It has accomplished the first part; five hundred congregations of men and women have been suppressed, twelve thousand congregationalist establishments have been closed. The reduction of military service has been voted by both Chambers, and is only delayed for final deliberations on some questions of detail. The Government has set a day immediately after the

opening of the Extraordinary Session for discussion for the impost upon the revenue. The month of January has been fixed for the debate on pensions for the laboring classes. One other question, a very important question in the relations of Church and State, presents itself together with the two first and with great urgency. Recent incidents have thrown upon it a startling bright light. They are of a nature to favor that solution which is wished for by the whole Republican party. If our internal policy, financial and other, defies the impartial critic, our foreign policy is the object of envy, and I may say of admiration, to the entire universe. We are not dreaming, as are others, of the glory of battle. We are not seeking warlike adventures and colonial conquests. We have the modesty to think that we are acting wisely in utilizing the territories acquired before thinking of other aggrandizement."

#### M. WALDECK-ROUSSEAU AND HIS SERVICE TO FRANCE.

IN THE death of M. Waldeck-Rousseau France has lost one of her great statesmen and a man who seemed raised up at a most critical period in her history to save the republic and the cause of democracy and progressive government. He assumed the position of Prime-Minister when the various Republican factions and the Socialists were neutralizing their power by warring against each other and seemingly were oblivious to the imminent peril which confronted the nation by reason of a united reactionary opposition in government. An army officered largely by intense reactionaries, and a public whose mind had been inflamed by the persistent and venomous efforts of a clerical press and of monarchal and militarist elements, were well-nigh all-powerful in the republic. If ever a nation called for wise statesmanship, France demanded it when M. Waldeck-Rousseau became Prime-Minister. If ever the cause of progressive democracy seemed forlorn it was in that momentous hour when the new Prime-Minister succeeded in impressing the gravity of the situation upon the master-spirits among the various Republican factions and the Socialists in Parliament to such a degree that they rose as one man to meet the emergency, uniting with the Prime-Minister in a firm, aggressive, yet eminently temperate programme which comprehended rescuing the republic from clerical and military domination, and recovering to the people the blessings of a popular and effective secular education and wise and progressive democratic, social, reformative measures.

The people, to the amazement of the reactionaries, accepted the new programme with manifest delight. "The heart of the people was sound," and though it was predicted that the cabinet could not stand for a week, or a month at most, it was sustained in its course and wrought a veritable transformation in the republic. From the darkness of reaction-of monarchal, military and clerical domination to which the nation seemed committed-she turned to the light of progressive democracy; and the people, finding the spell of clericalism broken and the fear of the brotherhoods no longer paralyzing their mental faculties, became more radical than the great Prime-Minister, who sought to maintain a spirit of temperance and justice at all times, and so far as the safety of the state permitted it, to favor a conservative spirit rather than that of radicalism.

Hence the time came when he retired and the bolder and more determined statesman, M. Combes, succeeded him. The latter doubtless entertained views such as Zola enunciated in his last great novel touching the fatal influence to the cause of republicanism exerted by the Jesuits and other religious orders which so long had systematically fostered reactionary, monarchal and anti-democratic sentiments, such as had been brought to the surface during the Drevfus agitation. Certain it is that M. Combes believed that the life of democracy demanded the suppression of the reactionary orders, and in that matter as in other measures which he has introduced and passed with the determination of a man bent upon the realization of what he deems to be demanded by the exigencies of the state, he has been strongly seconded by the people's representatives and the electorate at large.

To us some of the measures recently introduced do not commend themselves, as they seem to infringe upon that degree of liberty which democracy should guarantee to all the children of the state; and the fact that certain orders or individuals have manifested a similar spirit in no way lessens the duty of statesmen to hold inviolate the fundamental demands of democracy. Beyond these excessive acts, however, the ministry of M. Combes has been marked by great ability and wisdom, and the successful carrying forward of the reform programme which has been one of its distinguishing features entitles him to a place second only to that of his illustrious predecessor in public

#### AMERICAN POLITICAL ISSUES.

THE DUTIES OF VOTERS IN WISCONSIN AND MISSOURI.

THE LINE of demarcation between the defenders and representatives of graft, political corruption and corporate domination in municipal and state government, and honesty, clean politics, and justice and equality of all men before the law had never been more boldly or strikingly drawn than to-day in the commonwealths of Wisconsin and Missouri.

In the former state the candidate for Governor is a Republican of the Lincoln stripe, and against him he has arrayed the corrupt political machine, dominated by the railroads and other special interests and led by United States Senators Spooner and Quarles, Congressman Babcock, and Postmaster-General Payne, together with much of the worst element in the present-day political life of the commonwealth. The conflict is a battle between light and darkness; between equal justice for all, the fundamental principles of free government and honesty and the domination of reactionary and unrepublican ideals, the mastery of the people by the public-service corporations and a saturnalia of corruption through the union of the grasping corporations and an unscrupulous political ring. There is probably in public life to-day no prominent figure that is more thoroughly reactionary and unrepublican in thought and action than United States Senator Spooner, for years the special-pleader for the great railways and other corporate interests; a man who would like to see presidents elected once in twenty years; an upholder of imperialism and all the reactionary ideals that follow naturally in the wake of the domination of corporations and special interests over the republican or democratic ideal of government.

The leader of the Republican forces in Wisconsin is the antithesis of Senator Spooner. He represents the genius and the ideals of true republicanism. He is a statesman fashioned after the order of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. He is a man who has won the undying enmity of the railways and other public-service corporations, the trusts and the beneficiaries of special interests, the corrupt lobby

and the unscrupulous political machine, because he has withstood all the temptations of the corruptionists as well as their threats of political ruin; and he has from first to last upheld and defended the best interests of the people in their battle against the enemies of the republic and the exploiters of the masses.

The effort that is now being made to draw from the electorate enough votes to support the corporation, ring or stalwart Republican ticket and the Democratic ticket, to defeat Governor LaFollette, should be met by an overwhelming vote cast in favor of the Governor and pure government-a vote whose volume should be swelled by the ballot of every honest, libertyloving Democrat as well as Republican in the state; for in a battle like the present, between the fundamental ideals of free institutions and the reign of corruption through corporate domination, no patriot should hesitate in casting his vote for the man who personifies in so splendid a manner the ideals of true democracy or republicanism.

In Missouri conditions are reversed in so far as the position of the parties is concerned. Here the leader of the movement for honesty in political life, for clean government and the domination of the principles of justice and freedom, is a Democrat who has single-handed waged such a warfare against corruption by special interests and political machines as has never before been carried forward by one man in the history of any democratic commonwealth. Mr. Folk's position was in some respects even more unpromising and difficult than that of Governor LaFollette, for his political prestige was small in comparison with that of the eloquent Governor; and as in the case of Governor LaFollette, Mr. Folk had the determined opposition of the United States Senators in his own party from his State; also the united opposition of the Democratic machines, both state and municipal, in Missouri; the opposition of most of the congressmen, and the implacable enmity of the most powerful and corrupt political boss west of the Mississippi river. The great urban press of his party in Missouri lent him little encouragement, when indeed it was not in open opposition. Moreover, he had the state government hostile to him; and yet this man, who a few years ago was an obscure circuit-attorney, uncovered a condition of political corruption, first in St. Louis and later at the state capital, such as is perhaps only exceeded by that which flourishes in Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania and which is undermining the very life of republicanism in our nation. Under his unremitting and unrelenting efforts one after another of the prominent thieves in the municipal and state government were exposed, and the conviction of about a score of these men was obtained in the face of the most stubborn opposition on the part of the officials in the state.

From first to last Mr. Folk has claimed that the heart of the people was sound, and in spite of the opposition within his party more than one hundred democratic papers throughout the state demanded that he should run for governor. Then it was that a battle royal was fought in Missouri, as in Wisconsin, between the forces of darkness and light; between corruption, personified by Boss Butler and the corrupt machines of St. Louis, Kansas City and the state machine, aided and seconded by the Governor of Missouri, the United States Senators, several Congressmen and the political leaders in the Democratic party on the one hand, and an aroused electorate on the other. The result was that in spite of all opposition, Mr. Folk has been nominated for governor.

Now, however, the railroads, the street-rail-ways and other public-service corporations, special interests that fatten through corrupt practices, Boss Butler and his henchmen who have long rendered the city of St. Louis second only to that of Philadelphia as a cesspool of political corruption, the guilty officials in the Democratic party, and those who hold briefs from the corporations, are leagued with the Republicans in their efforts to defeat Mr. Folk; and their hope is based chiefly on the fact that the election methods in Missouri enable the most gigantic frauds to be perpetrated in St. Louis, where Boss Butler has so long carried forward his criminally corrupt operations.

Here, as in Wisconsin, a clear duty devolves upon every self-respecting patriot. As the Democrats of Wisconsin should support Governor LaFollette, so every honest, fair-minded and republic-loving Republican in Missouri should vote and work for the election of the incorruptible young statesman who is carrying forward the banner of pure government. In each state the friends of progressive republicanism or democracy have a solemn duty to per-

form. The pending battle in Wisconsin and Missouri is in our judgment far more vital and important to the fundamental principles of free government than the presidential election of this year.

#### WHY WISCONSIN DEMOCRACY SHOULD BE OVERWHELMED BY DEFEAT.

THE Democrats of Wisconsin have proved themselves recreant to their high trust by catering to the corrupt corporations and privileged interests and opposing the fundamentally democratic and vitally important Primary Election-law. They have proved themselves to be reactionary Bourbons of the worst type, the Esaus of modern democracy; and for this shameful recreancy as well as because Governor LaFollette has proved himself to be the friend of pure and just government and the fundamental principles of free institutions, every Democrat worthy of the name should rebuke the Esaus who have gained control of the party-machine, by loyally supporting the present Governor. The election of Governor LaFollette in Wisconsin and of Mr. Folk in Missouri would do more for honest government and the rescuing of our institutions from the oppressive and corrupt rule of bosses backed by corporations and privileged interests than anything else that can happen at the present time. Let every patriot in Wisconsin work loyally and whole-heartedly for the election of Governor LaFollette.

## WHAT PRODUCES AND SUSTAINS THE TRUSTS.

MR. HAVEMEYER, the great sugar-trust magnate, a few years ago gave expert testimony on the trust question, stating that the tariff was the mother of trusts. In this he was doubtless correct, but it is equally true that monopoly in land is the father of oppressive combinations, while private ownership of transportation and transmission facilities is a nurse which sustains, protects and fosters the trust-evil,—the third element in this wicked trinity that stands between the masses and the prosperity which they should enjoy, and which serves in a great degree to neutralize or minimize the blessings which would otherwise flow from democratic government.

THE "BIG STICK" AND THE DEPLETED TREASURY.

A YEAR ago the government's deficit for July and August was one million dollars. This year the deficit for a corresponding period is twenty-four million dollars. Though seven millions of this amount is due to decrease in revenue, the major part is due to 'lavish appropriations, largely for the "big-stick" policy so dear to the President's heart. On this point the New York World well observes:

"Greater expenditure is due in the main to an increase from 1903 in only two months of nearly \$6,000,000 for the War Department and \$7,000,000 for the Navy. Yet even last year we were spending for these warlike purposes \$118,000,000 more than we did in 1897.

"The only possible means of restoring cash to the depleted Treasury—the Treasury so recently overflowing—is to sell new bonds or to increase taxation or to cut down expenditures, and especially our mounting military costs.

"The last named is the method of business common-sense. It is idle to expect its application by the present administration, militarymad, crazed by the obsession of the Big Stick."

Beyond and above the enormous increase of the military burdens rises the moral danger of thus encouraging the brutal and warlike in our nature and the sinister shadow which a large standing army always casts over a democracy. The contempt for constitutional restraint which the military arm is always liable to exhibit when undue power is given to soldiers or their masters was startlingly illustrated in the lawless and unconstitutional act of General Bell of Colorado. A large standing army is a crushing burden to taxpayers. Its influence is morally destructive, and it is a perpetual threat against the weak which in the hands of officers beholden to privilege and class-interests may at any time be made an instrument of injustice and despotism.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER TO PRIVILEGED INTERESTS.

Nothing in the political events of the past two months is more self-evident than that President Roosevelt has made his peace with the railroad interests, the Wall-street gamblers and the trust-magnates. His appointment of Mr. Metcalf, who, it is stated in the public press, was formerly a representative of the Southern Pacific Railroad company's interests, and Mr. Morton, vice-president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, to positions in his Cabinet, if not made as a condition on the part of the railways of their support, must have been immensely gratifying to the great law-defying corporations that through excessive freight-rates and discriminations are impoverishing the millions and enriching the few in defiance of the rights of the people, as has been for many years so clearly pointed out by the Interstate Commerce Commission in its annual reports.

But the trusts and other vested interests have also clearly experienced a change of heart in regard to President Roosevelt during the past six or eight weeks. It is a noticeable fact that the most anti-republican and reactionary daily paper of the middle West-the paper that most perfectly represents the mastery of wealth over manhood, the rule of the corporations and of privilege instead of the rule of the people,the Chicago Chronicle, which heretofore has been nominally Democratic, came out after the St. Louis convention as an ardent supporter of Mr. Roosevelt; while the New York Sun, which had been among the most rampant critics of President Roosevelt, neglecting no opportunity to savagely denounce him, suddenly turned its coat and is now busily engaged in championing his election. These two papers are the two most typical representatives in America of the feudalism of capital. On August 12th the Boston Herald, in editorially commenting on the Sun's sudden conversion to President Roosevelt, observed:

"This declaration of the Sun signifies to all who understand its representative character that the great capitalistic forces centered in New York have determined to support the candidate whom they have disliked, denounced and ridiculed with fervid heat ever since his initiation of the proceedings against the great Northwestern railroad merger and his interference to compel a submission of the issues in the anthracite strike to arbitration. The great combinations of capitalists that constitute the trusts and promote them may be presumed to have come to the conclusion that he and his party are safer for them than Parker and his party."

Should President Roosevelt be elected to the office of Chief Executive in November, we hazard the prediction that the next Attorney-General will be a man as thoroughly accept-

able to the trusts and law-defying corporations as any attorney-general who has been appointed to that important office since corporate wealth has become the predominating influence in our national life.

#### ARE WE TO HAVE BAYONET-RULE AT THE POLLS IN COLORADO?

We have just received a letter from a prominent journalist who has recently visited Colorado to make a study of the war being waged between the corporations and labor in that State. In this letter our correspondent says:

"Bell hinted to me that he expected to have the troops out at the Presidential election in Denver. He called it 'protection of the ballot-box.' Bell and Peabody are Republicans; Denver is normally Democratic, as is Colorado. You can draw your own inferences."

The unlawful and unconstitutional act of Bell, who from his inception in office has acted as though he were the subservient lackey of the great trusts and corporations which dominate Colorado, in arresting and deporting citizens of the State against whom there was no scintilla of evidence that they had been guitly of any wrong-doing, is not only a moral crime that in its effect is a bid for lawlessness on the part of labor and that must necessarily breed contempt for official authority, but it has established the most evil and dangerous precedent that could be established in a republic. It is the sowing of the dragon's teeth from which worse things are sure to spring, unless the moral crime receives prompt rebuke from the electorate. A man who by speech and act exhibits such supreme contempt for law and the Constitution as has Mr. Bell is a dangerous character in a republic. His place is in the Ottoman Empire or in darkest Russia.

To be forewarned is to be forearmed. Now that the man who has proved his contempt for the Constitution by deporting innocent men, and who has acted as he would have acted if he were the hired man of the corporations, has expressed his purpose to use soldiers at the polls, let all intelligent and Constitution-loving citizens unite in an effort to protect the ballot-box from a Constitution-defying militia as well as from any and all attempts to defeat the voice of the people through tampering with returns. Let there be no further attempts at usurpation of Constitutional rights and the Russianizing of an American commonwealth.

Two Sides of The Prosperity Picture.

TIME and again the people have been deceived by the persistent reiteration by the partisan press of slogans and catch-phrases which were hollow, false and misleading. The unscrupulous partisan leaders know full well that in every community there are large numbers of echoes of echoes-men who do not think or reason for themselves, but who are always ready to wisely repeat any more or less plausible catch-phrases that are persistently repeated, and it is held that through this army of echoes the attention of the masses of the voters may be diverted from the real truths and ugly facts which special interests and their hired advocates wish obscured. Thus, for example, we are in the presence of trust oppression that is robbing the people of millions upon millions of dollars of their own wealth in ways that would be absolutely impossible in a government like that of New Zealand, where the best interests of the nation and the prosperity of all the people are the supreme concern of the statesmen. Extortion and freight-discriminations on the part of the railways are only two of the many shameful methods tolerated and rendered possible by a recreant government whose representatives, from the President of the United States down through the senators and the members of the lower houses, are complacent in the presence of admitted outrages, because they are directly beholden to the railway interests on account of being the recipients of passes and other courtesies, or because they have become partners with the oppressors in order to secure princely campaign-funds.

Again: We are to-day in the presence of executive usurpation such as has never before been tolerated in this republic. We are confronted by a treasury deficit as a result of shameful and dangerous military extravagances, and there are other grave evils confronting the nation which are essentially unrepublican, reactionary and imperialistic in character. Yet a tremendous effort is being made to divert popular attention from these things by the hollow and ingenious cry about prosperity. On every hand spellbinders have been taught their story and are parrotting it to the electorate; and the daily and weekly journals interested in the present régime of corporate domination, extravagance and reaction are vying with each other in attempting to revamp the old Hanna slogan, though they discreetly touch lightly on the full-dinner-pail.

A typical example of this kind appeared in a recent issue of the New York Financial News, from which we take the following extracts:

"With an iron production and consumption increased from 9,000,000 tons in 1897 to 18,000,000 tons in 1903, what have we to fear?

"With a country able to undertake, as a matter of course, the construction of a canal to cost \$200,000,000 or more, what have we to fear?

"With an internal commerce of \$21,000,000,000, surpassing the external commerce of all the nations of the world, what have we to fear?

"With all our matured debts paid and hundreds of millions of gold dollars in the bank,

what have we to fear?

"With more actual gold in our treasury than was ever before possessed by any one nation at any one time since time began, what have we to fear?

"With 600,000 factories, 7,000,000 factoryworkers and a home market of 82,000,000 people, free from competition of cheap foreign labor, what have we to fear?

"With farms worth \$20,000,000,000, and a yearly product worth nearly \$4,000,000,000,

what have we to fear?

"With our diplomacy successful at every turn, with our dollar good at every market of the world, with no entangling foreign alliances, with our national conscience 'void of offence toward God and man,' with a people strong in purpose and ambition, with the energy born of a short but heroic past, and with our flag honored wherever it waves, what have we to fear?"

On the other hand almost every daily paper contains news-items that tell a far different story. We are in a season of the year when little is usually heard of extreme want, and yet the papers are constantly publishing facts that show only too plainly that though great fortunes are being augmented, the conditions of the masses are not nearly so prosperous as they were during the past six or eight years, when we had bountiful crops and war-stimulated prices. Here is a characteristic example illustrating the other side of the prosperity picture: On the 28th of August, the New York World published the following statement by Captain Henry who dispenses the free loaves of bread at midnight from Fleischmann's bakery, Broadway and Tenth street, New York City:

"We have had more applicants for free bread this summer than during any previous summer of the fourteen years I have been here. I do not know how to account for it, but it is a fact. We

have been giving away on an average more than 400 loaves a night recently week-days, and still more than that Sundays."

The World, in commenting on the above, observes:

"Captain Henry has his finger on the pulse of poverty which nightly comes to his door in a long line of poorly-dressed, hungry men. There are no pretenders in this line, for there is nothing for them to gain but a piece of bread. It is certain that every man in the line is in direst need of the bare necessities of existence. If he did not want for bread he would not be there.

"There were 410 persons in the 'bread-line' last Friday night when the distribution began. The line extended from the side entrance of the bakery on Tenth street, east to Broadway, and then north along Broadway beneath the shadows of Grace Church, past the big wholesale stores and to a point within twenty feet of the intersection of Twelfth street. It was a solid line with never a break except at the corner of Tenth street, where a big, well-fed policeman had cleared a space for the crossing of pedestrians. Persons who passed in the streets gazed curiously into the faces of the waiting men, which caused several in the line to turn their backs and face the gutter in order not to be closely observed."

The enormous number of men that have been discharged during the past six months by the great railways, the trusts and the large corporations afford another illustration of the hollowness of the prosperity cry. The St. Louis Daily Post-Dispatch recently made a careful investigation of the army of the unemployed in America during the summer caused by discharge and on account of strikes. Its conclusions were as follows:

"Railroad employees			120,000
New England mill-operatives			
Packing-house employees .	75,000		
Iron and steel-workers			140,000
Coal-miners			60,000
Workers in other trades and			
tries estimated	180 000		

This gives a total of 655,000 idle men."

It is believed that this estimate is conservative; but even if we deduct 155,000 from the figures, we still have an army of half a million able-bodied men out of work, with a far greater army on the narrow verge of want; and these facts are typical.

#### SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE IN THE HEALING ART.

Successful Treatment of Mental Diseases by Psychotherapy.

A PIONEER work by a great physician and scientific authority on mental diseases has recently appeared in Europe, which judging from the extensive reviews and extracts presented in Continental and English-speaking periodicals we are led to believe will prove one of the most important contributions to medical science of recent generations. The work is entitled The Psychoneuroses and Their Moral Treatment. The author is Dr. Dubois, professor of neurology in the University of Berne, and the volume is an able and scientific attempt to systematically present and prove the enormous potential value in the successful treatment of the insane of the rational application of the latest discoveries in psychology, or the scientific employment of mental treatments for mental disorders.

It is safe to say that nowhere in the realm of medical science have there been nobler or more persistent efforts to successfully treat the sick than are found in the care of the insane since the days of Pinel. The savage brutality and shameful neglect of this most unfortunate class of invalids under the old order have given place to gentleness, kindness and the spirit of enlightened humanity. On every hand noble institutions are to be found where the comfort and care of the mentally-disordered receive material attention worthy of the spirit of enlightened civilization; and any exposure of neglect and brutality instantly arouses public sentiment in a manner that indicates the steady rise of man in the scale of civilization. Yet in spite of all this there is perhaps no department in medical practice where so little definite progress has been made in the cure of the afflicted as in the realm of mental disease. We incline to believe that this is largely due to the almost exclusively materialistic methods employed. Our physicians have addressed themselves to the body rather than to the mind of the patient. Now the proper treatment of the body is of course an important factor in any rational system of cure; but more than this is demanded, and the assured results in the hands of many of Europe's greatest scientific physi-

cians through hypnotic suggestion, and later through mental suggestion unattended by hypnosis, in the treatment of various diseases and in overcoming appetites for drugs and liquor, would seem to point the way for great results in the field of mental disease. This inference is further strengthened by the remarkable achievements that have followed the treatment of children who, being hereditarily cursed, have exhibited vicious habits and criminal tendencies, under such savants as Bernheim, Liebeault and others at Nancy. In great numbers of cases the treatments have proved completely successful, and children addicted to vicious habits and manifesting criminal tendencies have been rendered normal and morally healthy through mental suggestion.

In his work Dr. Dubois holds that many forms of mental disorder can be successfully treated by rational psychotherapy or suggestive treatment and the systematic education of the reason and will. At first Professor Dubois, Professor Dejerine and other physicians whose experience and success with neurotic mental diseases has entitled them to a front rank in their special departments of therapeutics, relied on hypnotic suggestion, but later experiments proved that in many cases far better results can be obtained with psychotherapeutic treatment unattended by hypnosis. Professors Dejerine and Dubois, in common with other leading specialists, long relied on the old and inefficient methods of isolation, rest, diet, electricity and medicine; but the results were so disappointing that they began to utilize the discoveries of psychological investigators, with such satisfactory results that they now insist that mental diseases demand mental treatment, and that the most effective remedies are the establishment of confidence in the mind of the patient, the destruction of his fears, the restoration of reason to its rightful sway, the educacation of the will through systematic mental treatment, and the installation of high moral ideals, supplemented by hygienic physical conditions. It is claimed that through this method the most remarkable results have been obtained in the complete destruction of false ideas and abnormal associations of ideas, illogical reasoning, auto-suggestion, fears and mental apprehension. By the systematic education of the reason and will it is claimed that it is possible to affect the cerebral conditions in a manner as surprising as it is gratifying to the physician. The facts set forth in this volume should carry hope to all earnest men and women interested in the cure of the mentally sick. We believe the new treatment will prove revolutionary and mark a distinct advance step in the healing art.

#### FOOD AND HEALTH.

THE OLD and once popular theory that plenty of meat was essential to a strong and vigorous body has been pretty well exploded in recent years, while articles of diet formerly held in general contempt by flesh-eating peoples have been proved to possess food-values little suspected by our fathers. We remember reading learned disquisitions some years ago in which the writers undertook to prove that rice as a staple article of diet was as a rope of sand, especially if strain and hardships were to be endured. But a short time after the appearance of these discussions the Chino-Japanese war broke out, and the Japanese soldiers subsisted almost entirely on rice and tea, and it is now generally admitted that the Japanese are among the strongest people, both mentally and physically; yet their staple article of diet is rice.

In a recent issue of *The Medical Record* the source of Japanese strength was thus interestingly analyzed:

"The Japanese are allowed to be among the very strongest people on earth. They are strong mentally and physically, and yet practically they eat no meat at all. The diet which enables them to develop such hardy frames and such well-balanced and keen brains consists almost wholly of rice, steamed or boiled, while the better-to-do add to this Spartan fare fish, eggs, vegetables and fruit. For beverages they use weak tea, without sugar or milk, and pure water, alcoholic stimulants being but rarely indulged in. Water is imbibed in what we should consider prodigous quantities-to an Englishman, indeed, the drinking of so much water would be regarded as madness. The average Japanese individual swallows about a gallon daily in divided doses.

"The Japanese recognize the beneficial effect of flushing the system through the medium of the kidneys, and they also cleanse the exterior of their bodies to an extent undreamed of in Europe or America.

"Another—and perhaps this is the usage on which the Japanese lay the greatest stress—is that deep, habitual, forcible inhalation of fresh air is an essential for the acquisition of strength and this method is sedulously practiced until

it becomes a part of their nature."

We think that the custom of deep inhalation of pure air is undoubtedly one of the chief secrets of Japanese health. So long as the blood of the human system is kept pure by a plentiful supply of oxygen, and the pores of the skin are kept open, nature is powerfully assisted in resisting the assaults of disease-breeding germs and other influences unfavorable to health.

#### A NEW TREATMENT FOR CONSUMPTION.

Much interest has been aroused by the alleged discovery by Professor Jacob, the first physician of the Hospital "Charite" of Berlin, of a successful treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis. In a lecture recently given, the facts of which have been forwarded to this country by United States Consul-General Guenther, the German physician explains his method of treatment, which so far has only been employed in five cases; but in each instance the results have been so thoroughly satisfactory that Professor Jacob believes the new treatment will soon be generally adopted. After long experimentation on animals the professor became convinced that medicine could be successfully introduced into the lungs which would destroy the bacteria. He accordingly began his experimentation, which resulted in such signal success. The method is comparatively simple and he claims it can be undertaken by any skillful physician who is familiar with the throat mirror. He first induces insensibility of the larynx and trachia through the use of cocaine or anesthesine, after which a thin rubber tube is introduced into the lungs through which the medicine is injected. The time required for a treatment is about ten minutes.

#### IN THE WORLD OF MUSIC.

A NEW PRIMA DONNA.

F ANYTHING like the confident expectations of the friends of Nina David are realized, this winter will be rendered memorable by the first appearance of a prima-donna possessed of a voice capable of reaching with perfect ease the highest notes registered by Adelina Patti when her once-superb voice was at its best. If it is true, as is positively claimed by her friends, that this young singer possesses the "unequaled vocal range of almost four octaves, and is thus enabled to sing the most difficult compositions in the original key and without transposing high passages," America will give the world another genius of the first order; for Nina David, though of French descent on her father's side, is a true American. She was born in Mobile, Alabama, in 1873, On her father's side she is related to the eminent French composer, Felicien David, and on her mother's she is descended from the Oglethorpes, of Georgia. Her early musical training was entrusted to a maiden aunt who had enjoyed the best instruction that Paris could afford, being taught by Felicien David and other recognized masters. After the death of this aunt she entered the American Conservatory of Chicago, where her remarkable voice attracted the attention of all the competent musicians who heard her. She shrank, however, from anything like a public career, although she early learned of the value of her dramatic and vocal abilities, for when she was fifteen years of age Edwin Booth happened to be playing in Chicago, and at the earnest solicitation of some friends the young girl rendered

the trial scene of Queen Catherine from Shakespeare's Henry VIII. before the great tragedian. He was so profoundly impressed with her dramatic ability that he predicted that with proper stage-training she would become the greatest tragedienne of her time. But after hearing her sing he unhesitatingly urged her to devote her life to music. This for a time she did, studying with some of the leading masters; but in this strange life of ours often sudden changes enter and events occur that alter for a time the course that has been marked out. So with Nina David; and it was only by accident that her remarkable powers and the carrying quality of her voice were brought to the attention of Mr. Robert Grau, who after hearing her felt much as did the late Colonel Mapleson when, passing a butcher's shop in Spezzia, he heard one of the men in the market singinga man who was later known to the world as Campanini; or as Rossini must have felt when the cobbler mending his shoes suddenly began signing in the rich tenor voice that later won world-wide fame for Tambourini.

We shall await with much interest the appearance of this singer. If the predictions made for her are realized, it will mean much for America; for every great artist that appears in a nation materially increases the popular appreciation for the art represented and broadens and deepens the culture of the people; and music, like sculpture, painting and the drama, is a potent influence in humanizing, refining and uplifting life.

A portrait of Miss David is given on page 392, of this issue of The Arena.

#### "EMILE ZOLA: NOVELIST AND REFORMER."\*

A BOOK STUDY.

I. THE BIOGRAPHER AND HIS SUBJECT.

MONG the more important biographical works of the present year Mr. Ernest A. Vizetelly's new life of Zola is entitled to a prominent place, because it presents a most admirable picture of one of the greatest novelists of the nineteenth century and a man who later became one of the mightiest conscienceforces in France. This life, though sympathetic, is eminently impartial. The faults and weaknesses of Zola are not ignored or even glossed over, and in this respect the biographer is performing his task in precisely the manner that Zola would have desired, because no writer of modern times stood more uncompromisingly for absolute candor or a full statement of the truth and the whole truth than did the illustrious Frenchman who by the might of his pen and voice forced the French Republic to be just and worthy of her high trust in one of the most critical crises of modern times. But while being a faithful narrator of facts as they appear in the life of his subject, Mr. Vizetelly throws over his theme that charm so necessary and yet so rarely present, which renders a biography as interesting as a romance. His profound convicton of Zola's sincerity and faithfulness to noble ideals in his work was largely the result of intimate personal acquaintance with the great novelist. As the translator of Zola's works Mr. Vizetelly is peculiarly well fitted to interpret the spirit and teachings of his great master, and this he has done so admirably that we regard his summaries or characterizations of certain of Zola's novels as among the most valuable features of the work.

#### II. THE YOUTH OF EMILE ZOLA.

Zola's father was an Italian, a man of much ability as a civil engineer; and at the time of his death, which occurred in 1847, when Emile was seven years of age, he had a number of ambitious and promising enterprises under way which had he lived would have made the family independent. His untimely death, however, destroyed all these fair prospects, and the widow found herself the heir of numer-

ous law-suits but the possessor of little else. She made a brave fight in order to give her little boy, whom she idolized, a fine education and kept want from the hearth-stone. For a time all went reasonably well, though the struggle against starvation grew fiercer as the years passed. Emile however obtained a good education, and only missed an academic degree on account of the poor showing he made in the viva voce examinations in the studies in which as a matter of fact he was most proficientliterature and modern languages. After the failure of Emile to secure the degree, which would have enabled him to obtain a government position, the widow was compelled to accept a home in a pension. The boy was left to shift for himself. He sought work during the day and wrote poetry at night; but his efforts to obtain employment were long unavailing and no publisher saw sufficient merit in his poems to publish them. Thus his worldly conditions grew from bad to worse. Still he possessed a stout heart and a firm faith in himself, even when looking squarely in the face of want. In the following lines Mr. Vizetelly gives us a vivid pen-picture of this homeless and fatherless youth on the threshold of manhood, in a great city and possessed of little beyond a good education and unlimited confidence in his own ability:

"How does he live? it may be asked. He himself hardly knows. Everything of the slightest value that he possesses goes to the Mont-de-Piété; he timidly borrows trifling sums of a few friends and acquaintances; he dines off a penn'orth of bread and a penn'orth of cheese, or a penn'orth of bread and a penn'orth of apples; at times he has to content himself with the bread alone. His one beverage is Adam's ale; it is only at intervals that he can afford a pipeful of tobacco; his great desire when he awakes of a morning is to procure that day, by hook or crook, the princely sum of three sous in order that he may buy a candle for his next evening's work. At times he is in despair; he is forced to commit his lines to memory during the long winter night, for lack of the candle which would have enabled him to confide them to paper.

<sup>\*</sup> Emile Zola, Novelist and Reformer: An Account of His Life and Work. By Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. Illustrated. Fully Indexed. Cloth. Pp. 560. New York: John Lane.

"Yet he is not discouraged. When L'Aérienne is finished, he plans another poetic trilogy, which he intends to call Genesis. He is still at a loss for bread, but his chief concern is to beg, borrow, or, if possible, buy the books which he desires to study before beginning his new poems."

It is not strange that thus alone and environed this youth, with whom poverty kept lock-step, drifted for a little season into that far country where vice companions want. Poverty, when it becomes extreme, is demoralizing in its influence. Hunger and cold are among the most fruitful causes of vice, immorality and the blunting of the finer sensibilities among the poor. In the depths of his misery temptation in the guise of other miserables with whom he became acquainted lured him into the life common to many youths of the time in the Latin Quarter. Of this experience our author says:

"In his distressful poverty, without guide or support, it was fatal that he should turn to such consolation as might be offered him. Thus he went the way of many another young man dwelling in the Quartier, finding at last a companion for his penury. . . . As the winter of 1861 approached, Zola's poverty became terrible. It was then, as he afterwards told Guy de Maupassant, that he lived for days together on a little bread, which, in Provençal-fashion, he dipped in oil; that he set himself to catch sparrows from his window, roasting them on a curtain-rod; and that he 'played the Arab,' remaining indoors for a week at a time, draped in a coverlet, because he had no garments to wear. Not only did he himself starve, but the girl who shared his poverty starved with him; and Paul Alexis and Maupassant and Claude's Confession relate how, at one moment of desperation, on a bitter winter evening, after an unbroken fast of thirty-six hours, he took off his coat on the Place du Panthéon and bade his tearful companion carry it to the pawnshop.

"'It was freezing. I went home at the run, perspiring the while with fear and anguish. Two days later my trousers followed my coat, and I was bare. I wrapped myself in a blanket, covered myself as well as possible, and took such exercise as I could in my room, to prevent my limbs from stiffening. When anybody came to see me I jumped into bed, pretending that I was indisposed."

In the midst of this night-time of body and

soul Zola had been unremitting in his efforts to obtain a position, and in February, 1862, he secured a place as a clerk in a publishing-house at a wage of a little less than sixty-five cents a day. Slowly he rose from this humble station and at length obtained a position on one of the French newspapers. As conditions brightened he was at length enabled to take his loved mother from the pension. This reunion and Zola's subsequent marriage to a young French girl who was as poor as himself, but whom he loved, were two red-letter events in a life marked by great stress and strain. And thus with the lights and shadows following each other, with the deep delight he experienced at being reunited with his mother and the still greater joy found in the love of his beautiful young wife, tempered only by their precarious financial outlook and temporary periods of real want, Zola passed from youth to manhood, conscious of his power and determined to do some great work in the field of literature.

#### III. ZOLA'S POINT-OF-VIEW.

In order to be just it is necessary to understand a writer's point-of-view. One of the greatest drawbacks to civilization's onward march is found in the influence which prejudice exerts over the popular imagination and which is fatal to fairness of judgment because it destroys the judicial attitude upon which justice depends. One may not agree with an author, and yet may sympathize with or understand his attitude, because from his point-ofview his conclusions are legitimate and necessary. Broadly speaking, in the field of ethics we have three classes of writers. There are the true idealists-men and women who while not closing their eyes to existing evils and defects, and while being ever ready to aid in all fundamentally just and sound measures to destroy evil conditions, hold that true progress and sound or normal civilization can only be enjoyed when a high, fine and true ideal is kept constantly before the imagination of the people, even as the pillar of cloud and flame was said to have floated before ancient Israel as it journeyed from Egypt to the Promised Land. These writers do not ignore the evil, much less do they make evil attractive; but they always set over against the false the image of the true, and they give double emphasis to the noble ideal which Hugo terms "the stable type of ever-moving progress." They do not ignore the evil, but they seek to overcome the darkness with the light.

The thinkers of the second class either affect morality while in fact fostering immorality by arraying vice in seductive robings, parading it and then hypocritically deprecating its presence, or they ignore evil, resolutely closing their eyes to all that is vicious and degrading, all the eating corruption that is undermining civilization, holding that the uncovering of the

sore will spread the contagion.

A third class, and of this Zola was a conspicuous representative, holds that only by a complete unmasking of vice, evil and corruption can we hope to effect a cure. The members of this class hold that when vice is seen in all its hideousness and its end is traced with remorseless fidelity, men and women will not only shrink from its embrace, but effective measures will be taken to supplant the false and the fatal by the true and the health-giving. They hold that it is in the hidden evils that silently eat into the vitals of civilization, and of whose presence, or rather of whose extent, the national conscience is ignorant, that we find the supreme peril to national health and life.

Zola from first to last held this ethical view. He was one of the most candid and honest minds known to literature. Moreover, his hatred of insincerity and intellectual subserviency was only less than his passion for truth and justice. These things and his faith in honest work as a redemptive influence are among the most conspicuous characteristics of his life. The keynote of his character appears early in youth when as a journalist he was commissioned to write a criticism of the pictures exhibited at the Salon in 1866. He began a series of papers marked by great boldness, vigor and independence of thought. He praised the works of Monet, Manet, Daubigny, Corot and Pissarro, and condemned the mediocre work of a score or more of forgotten artists who were then in the hey-day of popularity. In a few days he had Paris agog, when the publisher became so alarmed that he discontinued the series. The idea of running counter to the conventional critics who had become so artificial that they no longer recognized their own artificiality aroused the indignation of a superficial and frivolous society. In defending himself against the storm of criticism Zola said:

"In these articles I have defended M. Manet as, throughout my life, I shall always defend every frank personality that may be assailed. I shall always be on the side of the

vanquished. There is always a contest between men of unconquerable temperaments and the herd. I am on the side of the temperaments, and I attack the herd. Thus my case is judged, and I am condemned. I have been guilty of such enormity as to fail to admire M. Dubuffe, after admiring Courbet-the enormity of complying with inexorable logic. Such has been my guilt and simplicity that I have been unable to swallow without disgust the fadeurs of the period, and have demanded power and originality in artistic work. I have blasphemed in declaring that the history of art proves that only temperaments dominate the ages, and that the paintings we treasure are those which have been lived and felt. . . . I have behaved as a heretic in demolishing the paltry religions of coteries and firmly setting forth the great religion of art, that which says to every painter: "Open your eyes, behold nature. Open your heart, behold life." . . . I have behaved, too, like a ruffian in marching straight towards my goal without thinking of the poor devils whom I might crush on the way. I sought Truth and I acted so badly as to hurt people while trying to reach it. In a word, I have shown cruelty, foolishness, and ignorance, I have been guilty of sacrilege and heresy, because, weary of falsehood and mediocrity, I looked for men in a crowd of eunuchs. And that is why I am condemned.""

Zola was as pitiless as he was daring in unmasking the great evils that all history proves to be fatal to civilizations' upward movement. With more than photographic fidelity he pictured the crying evils of his age and land. We say with more than photographic fidelity, because into his pictures he has thrown the awful atmosphere of death that only a genius with the imagination of an artist or a poet could impart. Thus, for example, the drink-curse is emphasized in L'Assomoir; the social evil is vividly pictured in Nana; the moral death that emanates as miasma from the great centers of speculation and gambling, such as the Bourse and Wall street, is vividly brought out in Money; and the insanity and criminality of war have seldom been so impressively forced upon the imagination of man as in The Downfall. So in each one of the Rougon-Macquart romances Zola had some great definite idea in view, some tremendous fact which he wished to impress upon the brain of his people. We are not arguing that his position was the true one. Indeed, we hold it to be one fraught with real perils, for the reason that where too much emphasis is given to the presence of evil conditions by vivid picturing of the same, without the truth being set over against the false in a still bolder manner, the effect is likely to be the reverse of what the author desires, producing a feeling of despair that is far worse than the inertia of ignorance. Moreover, when an author pictures anything relating to sensuality and vice there is always danger-great danger of the mental imagery which the descriptions call forth exerting a baleful effect, almost as the fascinating spell of a serpent over a bird, when it appeals to diseased or disordered imaginations which are all too common, thanks to the false, artificial and unhealthy theories, ideals and practices of the past. Hence the realist or naturalist is liable to do evil even when striving to do good. He is liable to still further degrade minds already sick with the disease he seeks to cure.

Thus one may not agree that Zola's method as found in his earlier works was the right way or the best way to regenerate society. Still, in simple fairness, we must strive to place ourselves in his position in order to judge him fairly. Of Zola's honesty, sincerity and nobility of purpose we entertain no doubt, though we may question the wisdom of his method as emphasized in his earlier novels for impressing great and needed lessons on the untrained and degraded imagination of the masses.

Zola's theory of art was clearly enunciated in his essays and newspaper defences, and to judge him fairly it is important to at all times remember the principles and conclusions that guided him in all his writings. To be sure, in his earlier works he merely contented himself with picturing conditions that called for remedy, and in his later writings these pictures were supplemented by noble representations of what should take the place of the evils against which he protested. And there is also much philosophy and moralizing in the noble works that crowned his great career; but from the beginning to the end he held that the thing of first importance was to compel society to see and take cognizance of the disease that was sapping the vitality of the body-politic. On one occasion he said he was convinced that "only the truth could instruct and fortify generous souls." And again, in answering his critics, he thus contrasted the old school of moralists who strove to throw a mantle over the festering social sores with the naturalists or veritists:

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"'You claim to reform the world, you preach and you prate; but although your endeavours may be honest you do little or no good. Evil exists on all sides, society is rotten at the core; but you merely cover up abominations, you even feign at times to ignore their existence, though they lie little below the surface and poison all around them. The system of reticence and concealment which you pursue is a profound mistake. It is one of the many consequences of that system that thousands of girls are cast every year into the arms of seducers, that thousands of young men kneel at the feet of harlots. Abortion is practiced among the married as among the unmarried. Drunkenness is in your midst. Your prisons are full. Your gibbets and guillotines are always in use. Cheating and swindling are commonplaces of your every-day life. Well, I am resolved to tear the veil asunder, to set forth everything, to conceal nothing. I shall shock the world undoubtedly, but it is only by bringing things to light, by disgusting people with themselves and their surroundings, that there will be a possibility of remedying the many evils which prey on the community at large. . . . I take human society as it is, and by exposing the errors of its ways I hope to set afoot, to encourage among practical reformers, a movement of social regeneration, which will perhaps achieve in a few centuries, a happier result than you, even though appealing to the supernatural, have achieved in so many. And in any case I intend to try, whatever abuse you may shower on me, whatever mud you may fling at me, mud which will some day, perhaps, recoil upon yourselves."

Zola held that science was the greatest humanitarian agency possessed by man. His position, thus condensed by our author, will help us to still better appreciate his views:

"The man who experiments, the man who dissects, does not do so for mere pleasure; his aim is the increase and diffusion of knowledge, the benefit of the world, the advantage of his fellowmen. That which is learnt in the laboratory, the workshop, the operating-room, is put to use in a thousand ways. In physiological and medical science the work may often be very repulsive, yet it reveals the cause of many flaws and ailments, and points to the means of cure. A similar aim became Zola's as he proceeded with his novels. He made it his purpose to inquire into all social sores, all the im-

perfections and lapses of collective and individual life that seemed to him to require remedying. That everything should be made manifest in order that everything might be healed,

such was the motto he adopted.

"Yet in the first instance he did not preach, he did not denounce; he contented himself with stating the facts; he confined himself to analysis, dissection, and demonstration, and he used the novel as his vehicle, because the novel alone appealed to the great majority of people to whom it was necessary that the facts should be made patent if any remedy were to be applied."

In his early manhood he beheld on every hand a decadent France. Napoleon III. had usurped the throne, the government was the result of a crime, and crime, vice, degeneration and moral corruption infested life on every side. The prevailing literature, which posed as idealistic, was for the most part viciously suggestive instead of virile, inspiring and wholesome, as is true idealism. This pseudo-idealism repelled Zola, though by nature and temper he was a true poet. In a paper on "Immorality in Literature" the great novelist insisted that the popular writers of the so-called idealistic school "made vice all roses and raptures, while the naturalists made it repulsive." presence of the corruption and degradation that marked the life of Paris under the Second Empire Zola was one of the most outspoken remonstrants. Mr. Vizetelly emphasizes this fact by quotations and summaries of his views on several occasions. Here is a characteristic passage that our author condenses from a protest by Zola that appeared in La Tribune, in October, 1869:

"What Zola himself thought on the subject was indicated by him with vigorous indignation in a newspaper article apropos of the licentious operettas of the time. Protesting against all the clappers who went into ecstasies when a so-called actress emphasised 'some obscene expression by her contortions,' he exclaimed: 'Ah, misère! on the day when the sublime idea occurs to some woman to play the part of a -, au naturel, on the stage, Paris will fall ill with enthusiasm. But what else can you expect? We have grown up amid shame; we are the bastard progeny of an accursed age. As yet we have only reached jerking of the hips, exhibition of the bosom; but the slope is fatal, and we shall roll down it to the very gutter unless we promptly draw ourselves erect and become free men."

We have dwelt at length upon Zola's ideal and theory because no great novelist of the last hundred years has been so systematically abused and persistently misrepresented and misunderstood as he. Moreover, he was unquestionably one of the greatest if not the greatest novelist of the nineteenth century, and his last six volumes are more instinct with moral virility, the spirit of justice and fraternity, and the fundamental philosophy of social progress than are the romances of any other novelist of the past century.

#### IV. THE ROUGON-MACQUART NOVELS.

Zola had but recently completed his twentyninth year when he commenced one of the most daring and ambitious literary undertakings known to the field of romance, -a work in which he proposed to take a family and follow its fortunes through various members and the representatives of different generations in such a way as to afford striking and never-to-be-forgotten pictures of social conditions in all the strata of life under the Second Empire, giving special emphasis to the vivid portrayal of the giant evils, the profligacy, the corruption and the moral degradation that were sapping the spiritual, mental and physical vitality of France under Napoleon III., and also showing how the law of heredity operates on the oncoming generations and how environment contributes to work weal or woe in the lives of earth's children.

Zola's mind was complex. It was at once poetic and idealistic, scientific and materialistic; and with the patience and care of the modern savant he mapped out the work before him, drawing the Rougon-Macquart family tree before beginning his labors, which at first he expected would require twelve volumes, but which finanally expanded into twenty great books and consumed his most serious efforts for almost a quarter of a century. Mr. Vizetelly well describes this monumental undertaking as "one of the greatest literary efforts ever made, one which not only embraced a most painstaking study of a period and its people, but imported into fiction, for the first time in its history, virtually every application of the scientific theory of atavism."

Le Docteur Pascal was completed in 1893, and it was the twentieth and last volume of the Rougon-Macquart romances. The series filled nine thousand pages and contained over 2,500,000 words.

#### V. MODIFICATION OF HIS THEORY OF ART.

At the beginning Zola was the rigid analyst, believing that to reveal a wrong and cry, Behold! was enough. His early theory of art prevented his pointing a moral, showing the way out or picturing the result that would obtain if the opposite of the evil prevailed. Later he came to see that the imagination of the slowthinking multitude needed stimulation in the right direction. To picture evil without also picturing good, or to unmask an iniquity without showing the remedy for the evil, resulted in many instances in vice fascinating rather than repelling imaginations already diseased. Then again, the older he grew the more his heart went out in love for the miserables of earth, the more he yearned to help the disinherited millions and to further the cause of justice, freedom and fraternity. So even before the close of the Rougon-Macquart romances the method of the author became modified and the ethical purpose of his work became more clearly marked. This was quite evident in Germinal, that remarkable romance dealing with the wretched and hopeless lot of the wage-slaves in the mines and the appalling degradation that prevailing conditions here engendered. In a prefatory note to this novel, which was published in 1886, Zola thus frankly set forth his purpose in writing the novel, which had been denounced as revolutionary and calculated to incite the toilers to revolt:

"'Germinal is a work of compassion, not a revolutionary work. In writing it my desire was to cry aloud to the happy ones of this world to those who are the masters: "Take heed! Look underground, observe all those unhappy beings tolling and suffering there. Perhaps there is still time to avoid a great catastrophe. But hasten to act justly, for, otherwise, the peril is there: the earth will open, and the nations will be swallowed up in one of the most frightful convulsions known to the world's history."

"'I descended into the hell of labour, and if I concealed nothing, not even the degradation of that sphere, the shameful things engendered by misery and the huddling of human beings together as if they were mere cattle, it was because I wished the picture to be complete, with all its abominations, so as to draw tears from every eye at the spectacle of such a dolorous

and pariah-like existence. Those things, no doubt, are not for young girls, but family people should read me. All of you who work, read what I have written, and when you raise your voices for pity and justice my task will be accomplished.

"Yes, a cry of pity, an appeal for justice, I ask no more. Should the soil still crack, should the disasters predicted convulse the world to-morrow, it will be because my voice will have remained unheard."

It was not in the Rougon-Macquart romances, however, that Zola the novelist became subordinated to Zola the passionate apostle of justice, but in his last six works. Here the romancer is quite secondary to the teacher with a positive message—a message of justice and social righteousness that would render enforced vice and degradation and starvation and ignorance impossible.

#### VI. THE CLOUD OVER THE HOME.

We now come to notice a passage in the life of the novelist that is painful to touch upon, but which made Zola's hosts of enemies almost delirious with delight. The life of Zola during a half century afforded so strong and bold a contrast in its moral rectitude-barring the period when in supreme poverty he drifted into the Venus-world in the Latin Quarter-when compared with the lives of his most virulent critics and those of many if not most of his confreres in the literary world of Paris, that when the lapse of which we are to speak occurred so much was made of it by his enemies that persons unacquainted with the life of the novelist might easily imagine that he was as essentially depraved as some of those who were vociferously denouncing him. Hence it is right and proper that the story of this time, when the cloud closed and settled over the home, should be told, and we prefer to let Mr. Vizetelly give the facts, with all the details with which he was thoroughly familiar:

"When Zola married, about the time he began his Rougon-Macquart novels, he certainly looked forward to a life of unalloyed happiness. But though he achieved celebrity and became possessed of comparative wealth, though his wife was all love and devotion, there remained a great void in his existence. He had no child, and the desire for paternity was strong within him. One can trace it

through many of his books, and there is no doubt whatever that it became a fixed idea with him, was responsible for some of his petty superstitions, and entered even into that dread of death which the loss of his mother and of his friend Flaubert at one time suggested. He would die and would leave no posterity. Of what value was life, then? He had always regarded transmission as being its first essential function; and it tortured him at times to think that he was famous, that he was rich, and that he would leave no offspring behind him.

"That a craving for such happiness should have become intense in a man like Zola, with all the emotional tendencies of his temperament, was natural, perhaps fatal. It was one of the sufferings that made him seek a refuge in steady, all-absorbing work, and for years, by immersing himself in his task, he contrived to dull his pain and silence all the suggestions of a rebellious nature. Goncourt, one day after returning from a visit to Médan, jotted down in his diary some remarks about the gloom, the emptiness of that spacious abode. There were plenty of dogs, but there were no children, and children were necessary to such a home. It is evident that Goncourt with his keen penetration had divined the secret grief of its master and mistress. But years rolled on, and hopes first fondly cherished, then clung to with despairing tenacity, remained unfulfilled. The moralist will say undoubtedly that resignation was the one right course, but human nature seldom resigns itself willingly to anything, and certainly Zola's nature was not one to do so. As he approached his fiftieth year it began to assert itself, as Goncourt shows us in another passage of his 'Journal'; and then, after long years of battling, however strong the spirit might still be, the flesh finally trimphed over

"One may allow that there is strictly only one moral law for both sexes and for all stations in life, royal as well as plebeian. At the same time one is entitled to indicate whatever extenuating circumstances may exist. One may think of the position of Thomas and Jane Carlyle, as enunciated by the supporters of the former, and then picture a very different sequel, for in Zola's case a time came when he was carried away from the path of strict duty, and in the result a child was born to him, a daughter called Denise. Later came the birth of a son, called Jacques. An echo of what happened—the tempestuous passion of a man of

ripe years for a young woman—resounded through the pages of Le Docteur Pascal, while Fécondité, published much later, revealed many of the sufferings, much of the yearning, that had led to this crisis in Zola's life.

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"Those who are perfect may now throw stones. Many who are not will, of course, do so, regardless of permission, and with the greater alacrity as the dead man cannot answer them. But he was forgiven long ago by the one person who was entitled to complain. There was much suffering, much unhappiness, of which the world heard nothing, but at last her broad nobility of mind rose above the personal wrong and the common prejudice, and in these later days she has transferred much of the devotion with which she encompassed her husband to the children whose birth followed the crisis which, at one time, threatened to sweep the home away.

"Let us remember, too, that the case of Zola was in no wise exceptional. Our great men have to be taken with their faults as well as their virtues. Englishmen will remember that Nelson, Wellington and Lord Melbourne violated the popular standard of morality, and yet rendered great services to their country. Americans will remember Franklin, Webster

and Henry Clay.

"Thus to reject Zola's books and his teaching on the ground that there came a lapse in his life after fifty years of strenuous endeavour would be ridiculous, for it would entail the rejection of hundreds of others. The subject may be dismissed, then, without further comment from the moral point-of-view. Undoubtedly it will always be a source of regret to Zola's friends that this happened, even though it satisfied the great craving of his life. In spite of all our knowledge of human imperfection we sorrow when the flaw in our ideal is discovered, even though reason tells us that we ought to have been prepared for it."

As we have observed, this setting at defiance the social canons of our civilization gave the enemies of Zola the long-desired opportunity to assail him. For fifty years he had lived a life for the most part exceptional among the illustrious men of his nation in its conformity as well as moral rectitude. While he was writing the Rougon-Macquart romances that called forth the wielent attacks, his critics were confounded by his beautiful domestic life. For fifty years he held his course as the mariner

steers by the North Star; but when at last the day came when they were able to cast stones, they embraced the opportunity with the alacrity of unleashed bloodhounds on a warm trail. This was not so much because of his lapse as it was because of the hatred of the man who unmasked self-satisfied, canting, hypocritical conventionalism in church, in state, in social life, and in the commercial world, and who in a bold and pitiless manner had shown the eating cancer that, flourishing under cover, was sapping the life of France. Chateaubriand smiled on conventionalism and championed Christianity; hence the many liaisons of his married life were passed over in silence or apologized for by many of the very class that was so persistent in assailing the man who with his pen had wrought so mightily for education, for justice and fraternity.

#### VII. THE DREYFUS CASE.

It is impossible for us to dwell on the clear and admirable summary of the events which led up to and culminated in the crime against Alfred Dreyfus, as given by Mr. Vizetelly. The long and systematic effort of the reactionary Jesuits and the monarchists to undermine the republic, and their enmity toward three elements that prevented the realization of their dream of a Catholic monarchy—the Jews, the Free-Masons and the Protestants—is dwelt upon briefly but luminously; not, of course, so completely or powerfully as in Zola's last great work, Truth, but with sufficient lucidity to show the reason for many things that would be otherwise inexplicable.

Of the facts of the Dreyfus conviction so much has been written that it is needless to restate them here. The young Hebrew officer was marked by the Jew-baiters and the enemies of the republic as a victim by whose ruin the reactionaries hoped to further undermine the republic while protecting one of their own number who had been guilty of a heinous crime against the nation. In the first place they believed it would enable them to so inflame the minds of the people against the Jews that the latter would cease to be a factor to be feared in the government and would be placed at all times on the defensive; while secondly it would enable the reactionary clericals and monarchal element to pose as the champions of the army and of France. "The Jews," observes Mr. Vizetelly, "were the pretext. Behind the onslaught on them one on the republic was being

engineered. One may add that the anti-Semitism which arose in France was naturally assisted by that which prevailed in Austria and in Russia."

State secrets had been sold, but all the evidence pointed to a broken-down scion of a once noble family,-a man who had wasted his resources in gambling and a life of the most revolting sensuality. But he had been a good Catholic and a strong reactionary. Clearly he must be screened and a poor Jew made the vicarious victim. Seldom in the history of civilization has a more diabolical crime been perpetrated. Seldom has a plot against virtue, humanity and freedom seemed to succeed so perfectly as when the innocent man was sent to a living death. Seldom has there been a time when a just cause seemed so absolutely hopeless or the reclamation of a nation that had fallen into the night of injustice and cowardice seemed so remote as when through the instrumentality of Colonel Picquart's untiring researches presumptive evidences of the innocence of Dreyfus and the guilt of Esterhazy were brought to light. Picquart's work was supplemented by that of Maître Labori and later by the painstaking and exhaustive research of the highly-reputed Vice-President of the Senate, M. Scheurer-Kestner. All these men became convinced of the innocence of the Hebrew who was suffering a most terrible punishment, and of the guilt of Major Walsin-Esterhazy. Slowly the more thoughtful of the French people began to entertain the horrible suspicion that a great crime had been committed, yet they dared not demand a re-hearing, as the reactionaries had so inflamed the popular imagination against the Jews that reason had long since given place to blind racial hatred, and the fires of intolerance were being industriously fed by the clericals and all reactionary elements. Broad-minded republicans who believed in the innocence of the condemned yet feared for the republic if the case should be reopened, lest it lead to the overthrow of liberal government. Moreover, the government itself had so connived at the highhanded action of the reactionary military court that its position to say the least was equivocal.

Zola's attention was called to the facts by Colonel Picquart and Maître Labori. He became interested, as he was always interested when justice was in the balance, and he carefully investigated the evidence, becoming thoroughly convinced, as had the others, that a monstrous crime had been perpetrated; where-

upon he contributed three criticisms to Le Figaro, very temperate but very able, appealing to the reason of France for justice; but these contributions aroused a perfect tempest of opposition. Le Figaro became alarmed and discontinued Zola's articles, though the editor believed in the innocence of Drevfus. Then the novelist carried on his campaign in pamphlets issued by himself; and all the time the forces of reaction became more and more arrogant and powerful. With the acquittal of Major Esterhazy the summit of criminal mendacity and moral obloquy seemed to have been reached, and all hope for a nation so sunken in

iniquity appeared gone.

Then it was that Zola, knowing full well that he would have the government, the army, the press and the populace against him, and that the probability was that he would be criminally prosecuted, penned that powerful protest, I Accuse, a letter addressed to President Faure and worthy to rank with the noblest utterances that since the dawn of time have leaped from the brain of man. And when we consider the result which followed, the influence it exerted, becoming as it did the tide-turner in a nation's course, it is entitled to rank among the most important papers dealing with state affairs of modern times. This letter threw Paris into an uproar, aroused the unmeasured fury of the monarchists, the militarists, the clericals and the reactionaries, while it thrilled with joy and gratitude every truth-loving, justice-worshiping and freedom-revering soul in the civilized world. It revealed the moral grandeur of Zola's nature, the heroic stature of his soul; and though for a time all seemed to go from bad to worse, though for a season France seemed lost beyond recall, the bugle blast for truth and justice that Zola sounded in I Accuse startled the sleeping conscience of tens of thousands and inaugurated an educational agitation that ere long covered the enemies of the republic with shame and put the reactionaries who had so nearly destroyed the soul of a nation, to flight. From the publication of I Accuse and the revelations at Zola's trial may be dated the dawn of a new day for France. Then the republic, hearing the trumpet-call, awoke. The children of light took heart, received marching orders, and with new courage moved forward inspired by a high and holy resolve to rescue France from those who had so degraded her and who were dragging her back into the night from which the revolutionary epoch had delivered the nation.

VIII. ZOLA'S LAST WORKS.

The last six volumes penned by Zola reveal the great novelist as a teacher, a prophet of social progress and a reformer far more than a romancer. In these works great ethical ideals dominate all else. The writer is overmastered by a passion for truth and for justice. He longs to see the rights of man recognized. He yearns to succor, enlighten and uplift the poor, the ignorant, the disinherited, the unfortunate and the oppressed. He would supplant hypocrisy and cant with candor and sincerity. He would shed abroad the light of knowledge, the message of science. He would incorporate the Golden Rule into the rule of society. He would see men so environed that they should enjoy a normal life and be in touch with mother earth, that truth should be encouraged and justice meted out to all the children of the

In the three novels entitled Lourdes, Rome and Paris, Zola dealt with the city of faith, the city of hope, and the city which France loved to consider the city of light and love. The novels were in a certain sense symbolical or figurative. The Abbe Pierre Froment, the hero of each romance, is the type of the French people as Zola conceived the nation to be, or rather as he conceived that the nation would become from the drift of present civilization. The Abbe, finding himself out of harmony with the old religious thought and drifting toward the ocean of rationalism, determines to go to Lourdes, the city of faith. Here, however, though there are some cures to be found, a large proportion of those who go radiant with faith return without relief.

Next we find the hero turning to Rome. In a written work he has appealed to the Pope to head a great Christian movement to regenerate society; he has urged him to renounce his foolish and absurd claim to temporal jurisdiction and to imitate the Great Nazarene, placing himself at the head of the people in a demand upon the conscience of the age to give to the children of the Common Father the heritage bestowed by Him upon all men rather than upon a few men,-in a word, to translate the Golden Rule into the life of the time. But hearing that his book is to be placed upon the Index he hastens to Rome, the city of hope, only to meet discouragement and censure from the head of the Church.

From Rome he turns to Paris. Here he finds anything but that charity of which the apostle speaks, though into his own life love comes as a benediction, and with prophetic vision he gazes into the future and beholds a redeemed State in which the normal life, the joy of labor and the love of truth and of justice dominate the body-politic no less than the soul of man.

With the completion of the stories of the three cities Zola entered upon the preparation of the four constructive novels which he intended to make the crowning work of his life. These were to be the four social gospels, in which he proposed to enunciate the message which he conceived to be the glad tidings for twentieth-century civilization. Four things he held to be necessary: First, a natural life had to be substituted for the artificiality and abnormality of present-day urban existence. Paris was the hot-bed of infanticide and "the whole tendency of the time was to transfer matrimony into legalized prostitution. question of the decline in the birth-rate and the rate of mortality among infants" had for years challenged the most serious attention of sociol-"Zola rightly held that unless this tenogists. dency was checked there could be no social regeneration."

Fruitfulness is a powerful plea for a normal life. Zola would bring the people once again into touch with the soil. Let every child of earth have a spot of land to till; and he would encourage the calling into being of children in normal homes lighted by love. In this novel we find some most beautiful pictures of home life, and we call to mind few more charming descriptions in romance literature than the grand home-coming of the descendants of the hero and heroine which lights with beauty the closing pages of Fruitfulness.

After emphasizing the importance of getting away from the soul-starving, body-enervating and brain-emasculating influence of artificiality in present-day life, Zola proceeds to discuss labor. In work he found one of the most beneficent provisions for man's happiness and development. In work he found relief from things which would otherwise have crushed and destroyed him. Yet while it was right that all should toil, it was a moral crime that some should slave their lives away in order that a few might idle in ease and luxury; and it was also supremely important that work be not too laborious and that the conditions under which it was performed be the best that could obtain. He viewed with sickening heart and grave forebodings the frightful spectacle of the workers in the mines and in the great foundries, for here excessive labor and environing conditions were crushing out manhood and leaving only besotted brutehood where the stamp and signet of a god should be revealed. In order to protest against present-day injustice and at the same time to clearly show a more excellent way, Zola described a great modern iron-manufacturing industry under the prevailing system, with all the grewsomeness and tragedy, the wretchedness and degradation that attend the workers. Then over against this indictment of our present civilization he pictured a cooperative iron industry, where through wisdom and the application of the principles of justice and brotherhood all the workers received the benefits derived from their toil and were thus enabled to have time for improvement, recreation, enjoyment and growth. Here peace, contentment and plenty came as a result of honest industry and wise economy. What Zola showed as a result of cooperation is being to-day illustrated in a marked degree in various cooperative enterprises throughout the world.

A normal life and a reasonable amount of work are essential for the proper development of man; but these things are by no means all. Into the warp and woof of a society that is leagued with progress and dowered with virility and longevity must be woven truth and justice. When Zola first planned his third (and owing to his untimely death his last work) he intended to especially impress the importance of displacing prejudice, passion, superstition, dogmatism and baseless assumptions by truth. "Truth for authority, not authority for truth" was the key-note in the new evangel. Everything should be weighed and sifted in the light of reason and with an eye single to obtaining the truth. He had long held that the unquestioning obedience to religious authority inspired by the religious schools, the fostering of a blind adherence to dogmas and assumptions of truth that science had long since shown to be false, and the discouraging of free thought and free investigation which marked the education of the church, were not only fatal to moral and mental development and expansion, but were morally disintegrating. He believed in science, in education, in candor, in justice, in freedom, and in fraternity. He saw in the religious education all around him a schooling that was not favorable to the things upon which he held the happiness of man and the advancement of humanity waited. Hence we would exalt truth and seek to make it a part of the moral warp of life,—one of the governing and determining factors in conduct. When the Dreyfus case came up the amazed world beheld mendacity at its apogee. Here, added to simple false-hood, were perjury and forgery, and the great religious orders charged with the instruction of the young and that assumed to minister to the religious well-being of the people were perniciously active in their efforts to shield guilt and punish innocence. Our author in speaking of the reason why Zola expanded his work on Truth so as to take in the manifestation of moral obloquy that the celebrated Dreyfus case revealed, observes:

"He knew that it had supplied one of the most shocking exhibitions of mendacity that the world had ever witnessed; and it followed that Vérité ought not merely to inculcate a belief in scientific truth. It also ought to recall people to the practice of truthfulness in their every-day life. Thus Zola's subject expanded. He had always intended to show the evil effects of the training given to children in certain socalled religious schools, where, according to his view, their minds were perverted, deprived of all self-reliance by the intrusion of the supernatural. But the Dreyfus case had shown him there was more than that. The mendacity so current throughout the period of the Affair had come almost entirely from men trained by the Roman Church. Moreover that Church's share in the Affair, its hostility and its intrigues against the Republic under cover of the anti-Semitic agitation, were now every day more apparent."

As he wished his book to deal with education, "a Jewish schoolmaster was substituted for a Jewish officer": "while as for the crime," there had been a terrible murder of a little boy at Lille a short time before, "in which a certain Brother Flamidien, who was spirited away by his colleagues, had been implicated. Such a brother the novelist would have represented Esterhazy." As for the rest, the facts of the Dreyfus case were of course vividly present in his mind, while he possessed an extensive knowledge of the workings of the reactionaries throughout France; and his complete grasp of the condition of education, both secular and religious, equipped him for the masterly presentation of his subject. No man in France was better qualified to undertake the great task of making the story of the crime against Alfred Dreyfus an illustration of the moral degradation that is possible when truth is not made the supreme test for authority. Truth or Vérité is a volume which should be in the library of every thoughtful American if for no other reason than to impress upon the mind the importance of guarding with jealous eye the common schools and of resisting whenever and wherever the enemies of this bulwark of democ-

racy seek to undermine or assail it.

The normal life, labor in which the toiler reaps a fair share of the increase, and truth are all essential to happiness, the development and well-being of man. But this is not all. Behind, beneath and above all must be justice. It is not enough that a people advance individually under cooperative efforts in which the spirit of fraternity takes the place of the spirit of strife and hate; but organic society or the State must also reflect the lofty ideal of justice. Zola understood the fact which the most thoughtful statesmen and thinkers are coming to see more and more clearly: that if the high ideal of the Golden Rule is to prevail on earth; if liberty, justice and fraternity are to obtain: if democracy is to make good her promise, political equality must be supplemented by conditions favorable to economic equality. He held, and rightly held, that the true function of government was to conserve the best interests of all the people, and that this was not being done where special privileges were being granted to a few which enabled them to become the masters of the many, or where classes were being fostered and conditions permitted which gave to certain favored interests the power to exploit the masses. He furthermore held that we had reached a stage when the State should see to it that all who wished to labor should be permitted to earn a comfortable livelihood, and where the old and disabled children of toil should be guaranteed pensions which should remove from the heart and brain the everpresent, haunting fear of the coming of age and disability. These things were to be embodied in his last great work, Justice; but on the morning which he had set to begin his labor, the hand of the master was cold in death.

#### IX. THE DEATH OF ZOLA.

On the twenty-eighth of September, 1902, Emile Zola and his wife quitted Médan to take up their winter quarters in Paris. Arriving at their destination, the apartments were found to be damp and chilly, so a charcoal fire was started in their rooms. The chimney, however, was clogged and great difficulty was experienced in getting the fire to burn. The novelist and his wife were greatly fatigued and very hungry when they reached Paris. After a hearty dinner they retired and during the night the escaping gas from the fire poisoned them. Madame Zola awoke in time to save herself, although her husband was past help.

The news of Zola's tragic death produced a profound impression and awakened the keenest sorrow and regret wherever in civilization men loved justice, candor and fidelity to conviction of right. As a member of the Legion of Honor he received military honors. His obsequies were conducted in the presence of a vast concourse of people. Several eminent personages spoke over his remains, the most notable address being delivered by M. Anatole France. His oration, which was brilliant and moving in character, elicited great applause from the vast assemblage. We close this review of the life and work of Zola with some brief extracts from this eloquent oration.

"Zola," exclaims M. France, "had a kindly nature. The candour and the simplicity of great souls were his. He pictured vice with a rough and virtuous hand. His seeming pessimism, the sombre humour cast over more

than one of his pages, scarcely conceals his real optimism, his stubborn faith in the advance of human intelligence and knowledge. In his novels, those social studies, he pursued with vigorous hatred an idle and frivolous society, a base and baleful aristocracy; he fought against the evil of the age,-the power of money. Though a democrat, he never flattered the multitude, he strove to show it what slavery proceeds from ignorance, what dangers come from strong drink, which delivers it over, senseless and defenceless, to every form of oppression, every kind of wretchedness, every sort of shame. He fought against social evils wherever he met them. They were the things he hated. But in his last books he showed the whole of his love for mankind. He strove to divine, to foresee, a better social state. He desired that an ever-increasing number of the human race might be called to happiness in the world. . . A sincere realist, he was nevertheless an ardent idealist. In grandeur his work can only be compared to that of Tolstoi. At the two extremities of European thought the lyre has raised two vast ideal cities. Both are generous and pacific; but whereas Tolstoi's is the city of resignation, Zola's is the city of work."

### BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

The Moral Damage of War. By Walter Walsh, Minister of the Gilfillan Memorial Church, Dundee, Scotland. Cloth. Pp. 284. Price, 3s. 6d. net. London: R. Brimley Johnson.

In this profoundly earnest and thoughtful work from the pen of a well-known and scholarly divine and the author of several notable works, we have another important contribution to the conscience-literature of the time. In twelve well-considered chapters the author deals with the immorality of war as seen in its influence on society or civilization in general, and the specific moral damage which it exerts over the nation, the child, the soldier, the statesover the nation, the child, the soldier, the missionary, the trader, the citizen, the patriot and the reformer. Mr. Walsh appeals primarily to the moral sense of Christendom, and it is difficult to understand how a Christian Christian,—

\*Books intended for review in The Arena should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, The Arena, Boston, Mass.

that is, a Christian who really believes in the message of Jesus and who sincerely desires to follow the teachings of the Great Nazarene can read this work without being converted into an ardent apostle of peace. Of course we cannot expect those nominal Christians who possess India-rubber consciences and who are able sophist-like to convince themselves that Jesus did not mean what he said, and that the moral warfare waged against war is impracticable, to be influenced by an appeal to the simple, direct and positive commands and teachings of Jesus. But happily there are, we believe, enough men and women of conviction and genuine Christianity in the church who, if they can be so aroused as to act with the conscienceforces without the pale of organized Christianity, can inaugurate a movement which will leaven society and in time render war an impossibility.

We do not share the author's views in regard to the failure of the Peace Congress. We

believe that with that great convocation there was inaugurated a movement that will steadily gain momentum. But this does not lessen the duty that devolves upon every man and woman to individually exert his or her utmost influence toward fostering the peace sentiment.

Mr. Walsh, unlike the strenuous upholders of war, who argue that its influence is, at times, at least, morally invigorating, holds, and we

believe rightly holds, that:

"War is wholly injurious to man's moral nature, degrading rather than regenerating him, devastating rather than civilizing, and producing more and deeper evils than it proposes to remedy. In attempting to remove a political grievance, it begets moral guilt; professing to resent injury, it produces vice; seeking to cure the evils of the State, it causes sin in the soul. The damage it inflicts upon the moral life of a nation is the measure of its offence against the moral laws of God. . . .

"The military Moloch devours, not our children only, but our moral faculties, our sense of righteousness, our feeling of brotherhood, our religious vows. War is hell; and when hell rules there is no longer any virtue in the world worth speaking about. War is the sum of all villianies; and it includes a corruption of moral sense that is the greatest of all its villainies. War kills: but the murderous spirit it creates is crueler than any particular act of murder. War lies; but the lying spirit it engenders is baser than any specific falsehood. War steals; but the pirate-spirit it fosters is meaner than any single theft. War lusts; but the general debauchment of morals is fouler than any one rape or violation."

The chapter on "The Moral Damage of War to the Trader" is a bold and impressive statement of facts particularly rich in suggestions for conscientious men and women. In it our author bravely arraigns modern capitalistic imperialism. His voice has the ring and the commanding note of the old prophets of Israel, as will be seen from the following extracts:

"If Imperialism were the expression of the free-will and self-directing energy of a people, it would, at least, be entitled to whatever respect was due to wrong of the grand, imposing kind; but it is entitled only to contempt when it is seen to be the creature of foreign investment, yoked and harnessed to the yellow chariot of capitalism. Statesmen are but the tools of the masters of finance; and politicians

merely the puppets of the generals of capital. 'Money-bags' controls Parliaments nominally 'free'; and the plutocrat buys the politician like other merchandise. There is hardly a national leader, whether of Lords or Commons, but falls before the mighty thaumaturgist of finance; hardly a Cabinet or a legislature but is organized and maneuvered by the millionaire magician. Armies are marshaled by the same magic baton; and as the devoted bands march forth to battle, the cry is-no longer, 'Hail, Cæsar!' but-'Hail, Crœsus, those about to die salute thee!' As workers, they live to make Crossus rich; then, as fighters, die to make him richer. He first gets on their backs and governs them; then puts his hands in their pockets and taxes them; next claps a bayonet in their fists and kills them; then gets their tax-paying relations to bury them; afterwards congratulates them on having died for their country; but, first, last, and all the time, takes care that all they shall get of their country is the necessary six feet by two. Securely propped by Parliament on the right, the Church on the left, and with the army in front he marches forward on his conquering Kingdoms lie in the hollow of his hand; countries are his stakes, and continents his counters; and his huge gambles in material things are buoved up upon the immaterial waves of national selfishness and national sentiment, in which also he makes enormous and successful speculation."

"Capitalism now stands revealed as the great menace to the peace of the world; having taken over from royalty the criminal business on the grand, spectacular scale. It is not now the ruler who makes war, so much as the speculator, the financier, the exploiter of uncivilized peoples and undeveloped lands; who is giving evidence upon a gigantic scale-both in Asia and Africa-that he is prepared to push commerce throughout the world at the point of the bayonet. The money-lord has taken the place of the land-lord, controlling the powers of war and peace, bestriding the narrow seas as the modern Colossus-one foot planted on the neck of the proletariat at home, the other on the necks of the primitive races abroad."

While our readers may not, and doubtless many of them will not, agree with all the views advanced by this thoughtful divine, we believe that few who peruse its pages will not assent to the major propositions advanced. It is a noble appeal pitched on a high key and cannot fail to exert a strong influence over sincere followers of the Nazarene. We could heartily wish it might find its way into the homes of thousands of Americans at a time like the present, when the forces of materialistic capitalism, reactionary imperialism, and dogmatic assumptions of right based on authority rather than on truth are being everywhere opposed to the enlightened principles of democracy. A great and solemn duty rests on all friends of freedom, justice and peace. They should become active missionaries in circulating the literature that makes for peaceful progress; they should become active factors in carrying forward the banner on which is inscribed: "Peace on earth; good-will unto men."

An Uncrowned Queen: The Story of Frances E. Willard. By Bernie Babcock. Cloth. Pp. 270. Price, 75 cents net. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

This biography is written in a pleasing manner that will attract and hold the attention of the reader from the opening page to the close of the volume, -something that can be said of few biographies, as most writers are either pedantic and wearisome in the unimportant details with which they encumber their writings, or they become so enamored of a subject that they lose the sense of literary proportion and fail to discriminate in the use of their material. Mrs. Babcock has seized on many of the most salient points in the life of one of the noblest women produced by our republic, and has presented them in a fascinating manner. The work contains five divisions dealing with "Play-Days," "School-Days," "The Teacher," "The Traveler," and "The Reformer."

The principal criticism that we would offer is that the author has not sufficiently dealt with the breadth of vision and the essential catholicity of spirit that marked in so eminent a degree the thought of Frances Willard. Nor has she dwelt as much as we should like upon the intense interest which Miss Willard came to feel in the toiling masses of the nation. The last time she visited our office she expressed herself—as, indeed, she did in public—as thoroughly sympathetic with Christian Socialism—the Socialism of Maurice and Kingsley; and in her address before the National W. C. T. U. Convention, delivered at Buffalo in 1897, she said, among other things:

"Look about you; the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a

moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands. But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steadily at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a socialist comes in just here.

"I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable; indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

"I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for selfish life; it enacts into our every-day living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

"Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied."

Miss Willard was also deeply interested in the Direct-Legislation movement, and indeed in those various progressive democratic measures that other lands, less under the sway of class-interests, are successfully introducing for the preservation of the essence of popular government and the securing for all the people of those benefits that should be theirs. Moreover she was wonderfully broad in her vision in re-

gard to other things. I remember her expressing deep interest in the psychical experiments of Mr. W. T. Stead and the automatic writing of certain other prominent persons; and while loyally attached to her church and a sincere believer in orthodox Christianity, she was not so narrow as to be blind to the good in other faiths, nor was she too conservative or too intolerant to seek for that good wherever it might be found. This breadth of thought, courage and tolerance, and this passionate desire to see, know and understand whatever of truth there was made her one of the noblest representatives of enlightened womanhood. Miss Willard was always a staunch friend of THE ARENA, and some of the most cordial and enthusiastic letters we received when we were in charge of The Arena were from her pen.

Mrs. Babcock's book is a work that would do much good if placed in the hands of every American girl entering upon womanhood, as it would serve to stimulate high, fine ideals, a noble aim in life and courage to persevere in

any worthy endeavor.

Some Truths and Wisdom of Christian Science.
Compiled by Margaret Beecher. Cloth.
Pp. 171. New York: The Pulpit Press.

Some weeks since we received a letter from the editor-in-chief of one of America's great daily papers, saying: "I have asked the compiler of a new book entitled Some Truths About Christian Science to send you a copy of the book, as it is a work I think you may like to notice in The Arena." The compiler, the writer of the letter further explained, was the grand-daughter of the late Henry Ward Beecher, and her declaration that she believed that were Henry Ward Beecher alive he would accept Christian Science, was interesting, to say the least, coming from the grand-daughter of the great divine.

The volume came in a few days, and we find that beyond a brief introduction and a prefatory note, it consists entirely of extracts from articles published in various newspapers and periodicals, from the pen of leading Christian Scientists, in defence of their convictions. Of these extracts those that are of chief interest to us and which impress us as being particularly thoughtful are from the pen of one of the old and valued contributors to The Arena, Mr. W. D. McCrackan, A.M., the scholarly author of The Rise of the Swiss Republic, the best history of Switzerland published in the English language. Old readers of The Arena will re-

member that in the early nineties The Arena was the pioneer American review in publishing a series of able papers on the initiative, referendum and proportional representation, and also that these papers were prepared for us by Mr. McCrackan who had recently returned from Switzerland after a five-years' sojourn in that republic. During recent years Mr. McCrackan has become a firm believer in Christian Science, and is at present a prominent member of the lecture-board in that church.

For many readers Margaret Beecher's introduction will hold special interest, partly on account of her being the grand-daughter of the most illustrious clergyman America has given the world. In this introduction the compiler says:

"Those who cling to the old belief decry the statement that disease is not real. But let them go to any insane asylum, or to any hospital ward where drunkards rave in delirium. Those unfortunate sufferers will reply to their attendants just as the non-believer replies to the Christian Scientist. The maniac will persist in his statement that he is haunted by dreadful specters, and will declare in a rage that they are visible to him. The drunkard, delirious, will affirm that he actually sees the hideous reptiles that torment and threaten him. These indignantly reply to their nurses who deny the reality of their false beliefs, as the man holding the old beliefs replies to the Christian Scientist. And it is interesting to note that the ordinary man, in dealing with such a case, uses-although imperfectly and unconsciously -Christian-Science methods. He tells the sufferer that his visions and his wounds have no reality, and seeks to heal him by kindness and by mental influence. .

"Our minds are part of the one great Mind that pervades the universe and controls it harmoniously. Each of us has mental power sufficient to insure his own welfare, if he will but use that power as Christian Science teaches us to use it, and if he will but realize in his own life, motives, and acts the fact that each of us is created in God's likeness and image."

The content-matter of the book is necessarily fragmentary in character, yet it gives the arguments of many leading Christian Scientists in defence of the various views and tenets that are constantly assailed, and thus is helpful in enabling those who possess the love of common fairness, which makes one desire to hear the other side, the opportunity to read the answers to objections that are continually being advanced in the religious and secular press.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

UR ILLUSTRATIONS: In this number of The Arena we give our readers a remarkably life-like portrait of Mr. WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE, taken by Boston's justlycelebrated photographer, PURDY, late in August, expressly for The Arena, to accompany the eminent sculptor's notable paper which forms our leader this month. The pictures of the Brookline Town Hall, the Municipal Building, the High School, and the Pierce Grammar School were taken by photographer PART-RIDGE of Boston and Brookline; and the photographs of the park scenes in Brookline were taken by A. C. RICH. All these pictures are therefore entirely new, appearing for the first time in print in THE ARENA.

Mr. Partridge's Masterly Paper: THE Arena has not in years published a stronger contribution in behalf of a great and noble American art than is presented in the exceptionally fine paper written for our pages by the famous sculptor, poet and essayist, WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE. Mr. PARTRIDGE always strikes a high ethical key. His ideals are of the noblest and finest, and all his work is instinct with a lofty spirituality-vibrant with that moral note that differentiates work which exalts and which lives from the clever but ephemeral creations and thought which emanate from brains dominated by egoism. a great thing for America to have artists and thinkers like Mr. PARTRIDGE; a great thing for our young men and women to be able to come under the influence of such thought and ideals as are found in this paper. Moral contagion is above all else needed to-day to overcome the contagion of materialism that has too long infected our society.

The Poet of the Sierras at a Congenial Task: Joaquin Miller is never so happy as when defending the weak. He instinctively loves freedom and justice. To him Mr. Holder's strong presentation of the Chinese question from the view-point of a great body of Americans who regard the Chinese immigration as carried on under the auspices of the Six Com-

panies as a grave evil, inimical to the best interests of the country and essentially demoralizing in its influence, is rank heresy if not treason to the principles of democracy. He sees in the Chinaman an aid and not a hindrance to American development and progress, while the Exclusion Act he holds to be a crowning injustice, and as such something to be condemned and resisted. We are especially gratified at being able to have the cause of the Chinaman so ably presented by one of the Forty-niners, and to us there is always something inspiring and strengthening in the spectacle of one of the old soldiers in the battle of civilization sounding the clarion of freedom and speaking in prophet-tones for broader toleration and the strict observance of that justice which makes the Golden Rule the supreme rule for civiliza-

Our Trade with Mexico: An extremely interesting paper and one that should be studied by all interested in the commercial development of the United States is found in Mr. MORRELL W. GAINES' discussion of "Our Trade with Mexico," contributed to this issue. Mr. Gaines has recently returned from Mexico, where through the courtesy of leading officials he had access to data and facts not obtainable by less favored individuals, but which were essential to a clear understanding and an authoritative presentation of this important subject. We believe this to be one of the most valuable magazine articles that has appeared in recent years for the consideration of those persons directly interested in our export trade.

Professor Kerlin on Matthew Arnold: Our readers will, we are confident, enjoy the sympathetic yet critical paper on "Matthew Arnold as a Healing and Reconciling Influence," from the scholarly pen of Professor Robert T. Kerlin. This thinker belongs to the group of younger scholars who represent in a marked degree the conscience-element of the incoming age. After graduating from Central College, Fayette, Missouri, he finished his scholastic education at Johns Hopkins, the

Chicago University and Harvard College. Subsequently he traveled extensively in Europe. On his return, though an ordained minister in the Methodist Church, he chose education as a profession, and at the present time holds the chair of English in the Missouri State Normal School. He is also one of the editors of the Educational Era, a valuable contributor to several leading magazines and a very influential leader of the more liberal wing of the Southern Methodist Church. His writings are marked by scholarship, critical judgment, intellectual hospitality, and a spirit of fairness that gives to them a special charm. Our readers will be pleased to know that early issues of The Arena will contain two papers from the pen of Professor Kerlin on "Main Currents of Thought in the Nineteenth Century." They contain vivid and admirable summaries of the great intellectual movements and the forces active in the life of the Anglo-Saxon world during the past hundred years.

Professor Parsons and the Commissioner of Pensions: We trust no reader of THE ARENA will fail to peruse Commissioner WARE's letter to Professor Parsons and the reply. No acts of President Roosevelt's administration are in our judgment so fraught with deadly peril to republican government as those which mark the executive usurpation of legislative functions. The apologies for these crimes against free institutions are pitiful and sophistical. If such usurpation as that which has marked the rulings in recent years in the postal and pension departments goes unrebuked, our people will before long find that they have permitted precedents to be established that are absolutely fatal to democracy.

Civil-Service Reform in Anglo-Saxon History and Its Meaning to Civilization: All earnest patriots should read the graphical historical survey of civil-service from the earliest days of English history to the present time, so fascinatingly presented by Dr. O'DONOGHUE, of Washington, in this issue of The Arena, not merely because it is perhaps the clearest and most concise historical presentation of this subject to be found in periodical literature, but because of the thoughtful manner in which the author shows the immense value of the move-

ment that has been so aptly characterized as "the reform preservative of all reforms."

Other Social and Economic Papers: Among the important and suggestive social and economic papers in this issue we call special attention to the following: 1. FRANK T. CARLTON'S article on "The Golden-Rule Factory." Mr. Carlton has for some years been connected with the Toledo University, but has recently been appointed Fellow in Economics under Professor RICHARD T. ELY in the University of Wisconsin. His description of the late Mayor Jones' factory will prove nobly suggestive. 2. In "The Single Vote in Plural Elections" Mr. Tyson concludes his luminous explanatory papers on Proportional Representation and successful methods as employed in various foreign countries. In an early issue Mr. Tyson will contribute an important paper dealing with the results of Proportional Representation in Switzerland. 3. In "Voters Always Sovereign" Dr. MAURICE F. DOTY continues our educational series on Direct Legislation or Majority Rule, the issue which we regard as the most vital of all political questions before the American electorate.

Our Symposium: In this issue Professor PARSONS, Professor C. VEY HOLMAN, Ex-Senator WILLIAM V. ALLEN, Rev. GEORGE E. LITTLEFIELD, and JOHN G. WOOLLEY discuss the presidential question from the view-points of supporters of President Roosevelt, Judge PARKER, Mr. WATSON, Mr. DEBS, and the Rev. Mr. SWALLOW, our aim being to give all sides the opportunity to be heard. In the case of Mr. Watson we give the views of Mr. Wash-BURN, a well-known and prominent Boston business-man and a gentleman who has also been prominently known in progressive political life for many years, and those of ex-Senator WILLIAM V. ALLEN. It was not certain when we requested the expression from one of these gentlemen that the other would be able to comply with our request within the time specified. As both responded we give their views as they serve to voice the sentiment of large bodies of radical reformers in the East and in the West who are not affiliated with the scientific Socialists, yet who believe in the adoption of radical political measures which will preserve for the people the principles of democratic government and also the benefits accruing from public ownership of natural monopolies.

# PRELIMINARY PROSPECTUS FOR "THE ARENA" FOR 1905.

RRANGEMENTS have been perfected A which enable us to confidently promise our readers that THE ARENA for 1905 will be stronger, abler and more international in character than at any previous time in its history. We are determined to make this magazine preëminently a leader and thought-moulder among the potent influences that are working for the fundamental principles of democracy and social righteousness based on justice, freedom and fraternity; and to further this end we have employed a number of the most authoritative statesmen, economists and educators of the Old World and Australia as well as America, who have prepared or are preparing papers for our readers on the actual workings and results of ideal democratic measures and innovations which have been successfully introduced to meet present-day conditions in such a manner as to preserve the spirit as well as the form of true democracy and to enable the government to conserve in the largest possible degree the best interests of all the people, -such measures, for example, as Direct-Legislation or Majority-Rule and Proportional Representation, the popular ownership of public utilities, old-age pensions, the employment of out-of-works to develop the idle resources of the country and foster home-building, and kindred measures which look toward preserving a government of the people, by the poeple and for the people, and toward securing to all the benefits which now are too frequently enjoyed by the few at the expense of the many; while in the economic field it is our purpose to ably present the history and workings of the great cooperative movements of the Old World which are in perfect alignment with the general spirit and trend of the present time, but which secure to the producer and consumer the benefits derived from their labor, without these great classes becoming the victims of small exploiting bands who through the enjoyment of special privileges are

becoming dangerously rich at the expense of the many.

Something of the authoritative character as well as the breadth and scope of these important papers may be gathered from the following discussions which will be among the early papers in this extremely important series of contributions:

## IMPORTANT PAPERS FROM DISTIN-GUISHED FOREIGN AUTHORITIES.

#### I. DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN SWITZERLAND.

Professor Charles S. Borgeaud of the University of Geneva will write on the Actual Results of the Initiative and Referendum in Switzerland. Professor Borgeaud is regarded as one of the greatest, if not the greatest authority on this subject on the Continent.

#### II. PARCELS-POST AND POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS.

Honorable J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., the distinguished statesman and authority on postal matters in Great Britain, will discuss the actual results of Postal Savings-Banks and the eminently satisfactory workings of the Parcels-Post throughout Great Britain.

#### III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADVANCE IN ITALY.

Professor Maffeo Pantaleoni, of the University of Rome and a member of the Italian Parliament, will discuss social and economic advance in Italy since the establishment of United Italy.

#### IV. LABOR AND THE STATE.

Professor Stephen Bauer, of Basel, Switzerland, general secretary of the International Association for Labor Legislation, is preparing a notable contribution on "Labor and the State."

#### V. SOCIAL STUDIES BY PROFESSOR COSENTINI.

Professor Francesco Cosentini, of the Université Nouvelle of Brussels, will contribute three papers, on "The Glory and Decadence of Venice," "Militarism and Democracy," and "The

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Ideal of Peace from the Sociological Point-of-View."

VI. THE HISTORY AND PRESENT STATUS OF THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. J. C. GRAY, General Secretary of the Cooperative Union of Great Britain, will give a graphic story of the rise and present commanding position of the most important coöperative movement in the world-a movement whose membership numbers about two million and who are annually receiving in distribution of profits between thirty-five and forty million dollars a year.

VII. COÖPERATION IN SWITZERLAND.

Dr. HANS MULLER, the head of the coöperative movement of Switzerland, will discuss the present status of cooperation in the Alpine Republic.

VIII. NEW ZEALAND AS A LEADER IN DEMO-CRATIC MOVEMENTS.

The Hon. EDWARD TREGEAR, Secretary of Labor for the Commonwealth of New Zealand, will furnish our readers with a series of papers on social, economic and political advance movements in New Zealand. Mr. TREGEAR's first paper will appear in the December number and is entitled "How New Zealand is Solving the Problem of Democratic Government."

IX. MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

Under this general head will appear a number of very important papers, the first of which will comprise a thorough statement of the results of municipal ownership and operation of the streetcar service of Glasgow. Scotland. This will be followed by a paper by Mr. Bellamy, head of the traction-service of Liverpool, who will discuss the results of municipal ownership and operation of the tram-service of his city.

The above partial list of contributions is sufficient to indicate the character of this notable series of papers, which we believe will be the most practical and valuable contribution to the literature of social, economic and political advance that

has appeared in recent years.

OUR PARIS AND LONDON SPECIAL COMMIS-SIONER.

A new and original feature in progressive mag-

azine literature will mark THE ARENA for 1905. It will be special correspondence and authoritative reports of the world's progress from the great centers of civilization and the firing-line of political, social, economic and educational advance throughout the world. This feature will not only be unique, but will add immensely to the interest and value of THE ARENA. In Paris and London our special commissioner will be Mrs. Frances HARDIN HESS, the talented and cultured author and lecturer, who during a previous long sojourn in Paris became acquainted with a large number of the foremost thinkers in France, England and elsewhere in Europe. Mrs. HESS, in addition to reports of advance movements and important happenings in the realm of politics, economics, art, music, education and religion, will give our readers pen-pictures of and interviews with many of the master-spirits of the day in Parisian and London life.

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In like manner THE ARENA will be represented in other centers of civilization, while special commissioners or staff-writers will keep our readers in touch with every notable victory in parts of the world where the spirit of democracy is leading the forces of progress. Thus the Hon. EDWARD TREGEAR, Secretary of Labor for the Commonwealth of New Zealand, will from time to time describe the victories for popular government in that wonderful New England of the Southern seas. No efforts will be spared to make THE ARENA preëminent as a magazine of sane and practical advance along all lines of human endeavor and a faithful chronicler of the victories being won for civilization the world over.

BOLD AND FEARLESS UNMASKING OF EVIL CONDITIONS.

THE ARENA for the ensuing year will contain a number of important papers dealing in a fearless yet authoritative manner with the unrepublican, reactionary and corrupt conditions that are occasioning such grave misgivings among thoughtful, earnest patriots throughout the land. pers will be as bold and fearless as the provable facts in present conditions warrant, and they cannot fail to occasion wide comment, and we believe they will accomplish great good. But while exposing the evils, we do not propose to stop there. Nothing to-day is more needed than constructive thought, or methods that will solve the grave problems before the liberal governments of earth.



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PRACTICAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE PAPERS SHOW-ING THE WAY OUT, OR HOW TO REMEDY THE PRESENT UNRE-PUBLICAN CONDITIONS.

Several leading magazines of to-day are doing what THE ARENA did in the early nineties,namely, unmasking evil conditions or exposing the eating cancers in our political, economic and social life. But they stop with the exposures. Now to reveal an evil state is necessary; it is a first step, very important, but by no means all that is demanded. We must supplement the destructive with the constructive. We must show what people less fettered by the tyranny of privileged interests, more republican in fact and more faithful to the democratic ideal, have done and are doing to successfully meet the changed conditions that prevail to-day, so as to preserve to the people all the blessings which justice and the higher law demand they should enjoy. One of the most marked features of THE ARENA for the ensuing year will be the publication of papers showing the way out of the wilderness of reaction and injustice.

"DIRECT ELECTION OF THE JUDICIARY," BY THE CHIEF-JUSTICE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The important series of foreign papers by leading thinkers to which we have alluded will be supplemented by a distinctly great series of papers by prominent leaders of democratic thought in the New World. The opening contribution in this series will be "The Direct Election of the Judiciary as a Means of Preserving the Blessings of Democracy," by Chief-Justice Walter Clark, LL.D., of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. It will be followed month by month with equally strong and able contributions from the most competent and authoritative thinkers.

It is not our purpose, however, to more than hint at a few of the notable early features which will indicate the character of the political, eco-

nomic and social advance.

Why Special Emphasis on Political and Economic Problems?

We have dwelt at length upon the features of The Arena for next year that will especially interest students of political, economic and social problems and which will make THE ARENA unique among the great magazines of opinion, not, however, because we intend to ignore the other great themes vital to the larger life of our wonderful age, but because we recognize the important fact that we have reached the stage in the advance of civilization when freedom and just conditions, or the genius of democracy, must become dominant before we can have any really great art, literature, music or drama, just as these conditions must obtain before we can have a nobly developed manhood and womanhood or before general prosperity and happiness can prevail throughout society. In the Golden Age of ancient Greece, as Dr. Bliss so strikingly points out in our September issue, freedom and justice prevailed in a larger degree in the City of the Violet Crown than in any other ancient civilization or at any other period in the civilization of Greece. At other times art has been dependent either upon the munificence of the church or of wealthy individuals, usually despotic rulers; but in each case the great outblossomings of genius and art were largely influenced by the untoward conditions of their environment. Since the birth of the democratic idea, however, the horizon of man's vision has been marvelously broadened, and the ideals of the race have been exalted. From now on, as never before, great art as well as philosophy and literature will demand a degree of freedom and of justice greater than that which has heretofore obtained. For these reasons we propose to lay special emphasis upon the fundamental demands of democracy, the essential requirements of any society where freedom, justice and brotherhood are to be the corner-stones.

#### ART FOR PROGRESS.

The symposium in our July number on "A National Art Theater for America," the paper by the eminent sculptor, F. Edwin Elwell, on "New York as an Art Center" in our September number and the magnificent contribution in the October issue by William Ordway Partridge on "American Art and the New Society of American Sculptors," are the three opening papers in our series of contributions on Art for America, which will deal with the larger aspects of esthetic development. These papers will represent the best thought and the conscience-side of life. They will be prepared by thinkers who are recognized as among the leaders and best interpreters of our time and land.



#### MUSIC AND THE DRAMA.

Another important feature of The Arena during the ensuing year will be papers specially devoted to the higher aspects of the drama and to the consideration of music as a factor in progress. We shall publish also from time to time studies and character-sketches of the more famous of the contemporaneous representatives of these arts, which are potentially among the greatest educational factors.

#### EDUCATION.

The New Education, embracing moral development and industrial training, and dealing with the various aspects of life and the needs and demands for its proper development, will receive the consideration which this fundamentally important subject demands. In this series of papers we propose to consider the condition of classes no less than the development of the young; the care of the criminal and the treatment of crime; the development of the defectives; measures for the upliftment of and for rendering independent those who have become unfortunate and dependent; in a word, the betterment of all divisions of society whose conditions are such as to call for the loving aid of those who recognize the law of solidarity and the duties which it imposes upon all who would be true to the highest that is within them.

## RELIGIOUS IDEALS, OR THE CHURCH AND HUMAN ADVANCEMENT.

Nowhere perhaps is the conflict between progressive and reactionary thought more marked than in the religious world. Here the old creedal, dogmatic and ritualistic ideals are in open conflict with the broader concepts of the new time; and while it is probably true that organic Christianity has become in many respects materialistic during the last few decades, there has been an increasing degree of moral enthusiasm and broad spiritual development both within and without the church in recent years. We believe that society is on the verge of another of those great periods of moral awakening which have from time to time proved redemptive in societies that were threatened with eclipse.

Papers on subjects that will be of special interest to those who believe in the supremacy of the spiritual or in the religion of the Golden Rule

rather than the religion of the old dogmatic theology will appear from time to time in this magazine, together with interpretations of the work and sketches of the lives of the master-spirits in the progressive movements of the past hundred years. This series will be opened, probably in our November number, by two very notable papers from the pen of Professor Robert T. Kerlin, M.A., on "Main Currents of Thought in the Nineteenth Century"; a brilliant survey of the moral, religious, ethical and intellectual advance movements of the last century. Another paper in this series will be "Christ and Humanity To-day," by Professor LEON C. PRINCE, who occupies the Chair of History in Dickinson College; and a third contribution will deal with "The Church and Young Men, or Is the World Better than the Church? by Rev. Prescott White, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and for many years a prominent clergyman in the Presbyterian Church.

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#### SOME POPULAR FEATURES.

#### I. FICTION.

Realizing the fact that in almost every family are members to whom good stories are especially attractive, while they serve to rest the minds of the more serious readers, we have arranged to make choice short stories a marked feature of The Arena for next year. The contributions which will appear in this department alone, if found in a volume, would cost not less than \$1.50. In the November issue will appear a unique and somewhat weird story written in his peculiar and inimitable style by Mr. Dan. Beard and illustrated by the author.

#### II. BIOGRAPHY.

Well written biographical sketches and short studies of the lives of the great and good will also serve at once to lighten the pages of The Arena while teaching important lessons.

#### III. ILLUSTRATIONS.

We desire our readers to carefully compare the frontispieces of The Arena with those of any other high-priced magazine. For years this review only published frontispieces when carrying any illustrations at all. Now, however, we have introduced two classes of illustrations, half-tones

# THE ARENA ADVERTISER

and cartoons. The former are employed to accompany special papers where pictures seem to be demanded in order to properly illuminate the text. The remarkable satires by Mr. Beard which have been drawn expressly for The Arena from month to month are of course a unique, strong and attractive feature; while the introduction of from four to five pages of pictures containing the cream of current cartoons has also proved immensely popular.

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#### IV. EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

In addition to the regular departments, our new department, "In the Mirror of the Present," which judging from the letters received and from pressnotices is one of the most popular features of the magazine, will be continued, and no pains will be spared in making this department as complete as possible. Especially will we give attention to those progressive and advance movements throughout the world which are overlooked by the conventional press but which are nevertheless important to the cause of social, economic, educational and intellectual advancement. Great pains will also be taken to make our departments of Book Studies and Reviews, which have also proved so popular with our readers, stronger and more attractive during the coming year than they have been in the past.

#### PLEASANT SURPRISES.

When Mr. Brandt purchased The Arena we promised our readers that the reading matter in the magazine would be increased; that the typography would be improved; that the frontispieces should be restored, and the character of the contents also much improved. We have doubled the amount of reading matter. The magazine is now printed on the best of paper. It is sewed instead of wired, so that it opens like a well-bound book. By general consent it is now one of the handsomest reviews published in the English-speaking world and has recalled to its pages a great number of America's ablest progressive thinkers; while not only have the frontispieces been restored, but fine illustrations have been introduced in addition to the original drawings by DAN. BEARD and the department of current cartoons. We believe that in every respect we have done more than we promised last spring, and it is our determination to more than make good all of our promises in this prospectus. Indeed, we have in mind many improvements and pleasant surprises which we believe will be greatly appreciated by our readers.

#### THE ARENA A NET MAGAZINE.

When THE ARENA was first published the subscription price was \$5.00 a year. At that time it contained no illustrations except a frontispiece, and it gave its patrons less than two-thirds the reading matter which they now receive. It is our aim and purpose to make this magazine in every respect better, more vital and helpful to serious-minded, earnest and conscience-guided Americans than at any previous time in its history. But though the magazine contains one-third more reading matter than when the subscription price was \$5.00, and though it costs more than twice as much to manufacture it as it cost at the time when the present publisher secured it, we have determined to hold the price down to \$2.50, while making it richly worth \$5.00 to all thoughtful readers. henceforth THE ARENA will be a net magazine.

During recent years many magazines which depend on advertising for their profits, and some other magazines whose publishers believe that if a circulation is once secured it can be held at a higher rate, have cut prices and made special clubbing terms which have not unfrequently brought the price of the publication, when bought through certain channels, down to less than one-half the subscription price. Under this arrangement some of the friends and patrons of a publication paid full price, while others secured the magazine at one-half or less than half the subscription price. This policy Mr. BRANDT holds, and rightly holds, to be at once demoralizing to business and immoral, because it is unjust. He proposes to put the full value of the subscription price in obtaining the best possible material for the subscribers, and to charge all readers the same for the magazine, holding that only through thus justly and equitably treating all subscribers can the true standard of ethics which THE ARENA stands for be maintained.

#### AN EARNEST WORD TO ALL OUR READERS.

There are scores of cheap publications and periodicals devoted to the dilettante idea of Art for Art's Sake instead of Art for Progress, that depend on their advertising for meeting the expenses of publication and rendering a handsome net pro-They are enabled to cut prices and accept nominal terms for subscriptions, often far less than the cost of making the publication in question. THE ARENA cannot and does not pretend to compete with such publications, whose primary object is in many if not in most cases to make money, while the primary object with THE ARENA is to give the American people a great liberal and progressive conscience-review of opinion worthy of the noblest traditions of the republic and its literature—a magazine that shall be a great moral factor in the battle for a higher and juster civilization. To attain this object it is of course necessary that the review shall be liberally sustained, and it is to our subscribers-to that great and growing constituency of broad-visioned, conscience-guided and ethically awakened men and women of the republic, that we look for support. Being absolutely free and unhampered, in no way beholden to to special interests, privileged classes or the great advertisers, we are able to fearlessly expose evil conditions and advocate the cause of human progress. But in order to be efficient it is necessary that we receive the active encouragement and loyal support of those who place principle above policy and who love the cause of free institutions, just government and human enlightenment better than personal ease, selfish indulgence and material profits. With the loyal support of this class THE Arena will soon become one of the most powerful moral forces in American life.

Under the present management this review will not only be strong, authoritative and absolutely fearless, but as handsome and artistic as it is possible to make a magazine for the subscription price. It will be the constant aim of the editor and publishers to give our readers a five-dollar magazine for \$2.50. On the other hand we appeal to all of our friends who believe in The Arena and its mission to accord it earnest, liberal and generous support.

"

We wish to double our subscription list within the next thirty days, and we ask you to help us in this work, either by securing one subscriber or by sending THE ARENA to some friend for one year. This is not asking much, considering the potential good which these additional subscriptions will accomplish in touching thousands of lives on the higher planes of earnest endeavor and also in making THE ARENA so much more potent as a factor for progress. Every victory won for human progress and happiness has been gained only through sacrifice on the part of the conscience-element of society—the men and women who dared to think and who had hearts to feel. For the cause they periled life and risked all of this world's possessions, and though they often perished on the firingline of progress, they bequeathed to all posterity the blessings of freedom, justice and a larger life. The cause to which THE ARENA is consecrated is the cause of human progress, of justice and a larger life for all the people; and for this reason we confidently appeal for your earnest, hearty and generous cooperation. We ask every subscriber to send in at least one additional subscription within the next thirty days.

# "Where Can I Get 'The Arena'?"

THE ARENA may be purchased, ordered, or subscribed for, at any news-stand in America and at the principal stands in various foreign countries. But for the benefit of friends who wish to know where they may depend upon finding the magazine each month, the following list is given. Many other dealers carry The Arena in stock, but their names are unknown to us, and we cannot, therefore, give them.

If your dealer's name is not on the list, we will thank you if you will tell him to procure THE ARENA for you regularly each month.

All dealers whose names given below are preceded by the figures 1 or 2, regularly carry The ARENA as a part of their stock.

The famous "Brandt Books" are regularly stocked by those dealers whose names are preceded by the figures 1 or 3.

#### Alabama.

Auburn—3 R. W. Burton.
2 F. D. Lee Taylor.
Birmingham—2 Montgomery Stationery Co.
2 Zac. Smith Stationery Co.
2 Webb Book Co. Mobile—2 T. S. Bidgood & Co. 2 Jas. W. Daniel. Montgomery—2 E. C. Fowler Co. 2 W. W. Haygood.

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#### Arizona.

Phoenix—2 The Barryhill Co. 2 The Phoenix Stationery & News Co. Tuscon—2 Kimball-Francis Co.

#### Arkansas.

Hot Springs—1 F. C. Boving. Little Rock—3 New Wilson-Webb Co., 212 Main st.

#### California.

Alameda—2 Henry Schneider, 1435 Park st.
Berkeley—2 N. J. Abbott & Son.
2 Neeham Bros.
Fresno—2 C. H. Riege.
2 C T. Cearley.
2 South, Fentem & Trautwein.
Los Angeles—2 C. Bishop & Co.
2 B. F. Garner, 305 S. Spring st.
2 F. D. Jones.
2 Oliver & Haines.
1 C. C. Parker, 246 S. Broadway.

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1 C. C. Parker, 246 S. Broadway.

1 Stoll & Thayer Co., 252-254 S. Spring st.

2 Whedon & Spreng Co.

Oakland—2 Central News Store, 1203 Broadway, 8 San Pablo

2 H. D. Eliason, 1163 Broadway. 2 Hardy's Bookstore, 961 Broadway. 2 Oakland Book & News Co.

2 Oakland Book & News Co.
2 Smith Bros.
Pasadena—2 J. S. Glasscock, E. Colorado st.
2 Jarvis & Pruiz, 49 E. Colorado st.
2 Leroy Leonard.
2 A. C. Vrooman.
Sacramento—2 S. Morris.
1 W. F. Purnell. 716 K. st.
San Bernardin—2 Barnum Stationery Co.
San Diego—2 Arey & Jones.
2 E. M. Burbeck.
2 Loring & Co.

San Diego—

2 E. M. Burbeck.
2 Loring & Co.
2 J. C. Packard.
2 Stephens & Co., 810 Fifth st.
2 Stephens & Co., 810 Fifth st.
2 F. W. Barkhaus.
2 Cooper & Co., 746 Market st.

#### California-Continued

California—Continued.

San Francisco—3 Cunningham, Curtiss & Welch, 319 Sansome.

2 Ed. Donny & Co.

1 Paul Elder & Co., 238 Post st.

2 Goldsmith Bros., 236 Sutier st.

1 Milton Bradley Co., 122 McAllister st.

3 Payot, Upham & Co., 204 Pine st.

1 A. M. Robertson, 126 Post st.

2 San Francisco News Co.

2 J. Tauly & Co.

San Jose—2 E. H. Guppy & Son.

2 M. M. Haas Co.

2 H. C. Martin.

1 E. W. Maynard, 112 S. 1st st.

Santa Ana—2 Santa Ana Book Store.

2 H. S. Roper & Co.

Santa Barbara—2 G. S. Brown.

2 John T. Johnston.

1 H. A. C. McPhall, 731 State st.

1 W. W. Osborne, 981 State st.

Stockton—2 O. H. Close.

2 C. A. Jossa.

2 Morris Bros.

2 J. A. Stewart & Co.

2 E. B. Stowe.

#### Colorado.

Boulder-1 Paul Raymond, 2043 12th st. Colorado Springs-2 Folts & Hardy. 2 W. E. Hook View B. & S. Co. Colorado Springs—2 Folts & Hardy.

2 W. E. Hook View B. & S. Co.

2 Martin Slaughter.

2 Whitney & Grimwood, 20 N. Tijon st.

2 Albert A. Walling.

Cripple Creek—2 W. D. Armstrong, 244 Bennett ave.

2 F. A. Colburn.

Denver—2 Harry Aaron.

2 The Capitol News & Stationery Co.

2 Colorado News Co., 1444 Arapahoe st.

1 The Kendrick Book & Stationery Co., 17th st. near Champa.

2 Louthan-Jackson Stationery Co.

2 C. W. Paradise.

2 The Pratt Book Store.

2 The Pratt Book Store.

2 The Pratt Book Store.

2 Nowland B. & S. Co.

2 Nowland B. & S. Co.

2 Richey Bros.

Pueblo—2 Cutts Atterberry, 227 S Union st.

2 Bonney & Haines.

2 Folts & Hardy Co.

2 S. G. Winch Co.

Victor—2 D. L. Eddy.

2 J. H. Myers & Co.

2 E. M. Ovren.



#### Connecticut.

Ansonia—3 H. A. Jordan.
Bridgeport—2 Jas. Feely.

1 Horace H. Jackson, 990 Main st.
2 Park City News Stand.
2 C. P. Pottlo News Rooms.
2 L. D. Plum.
2 Post Office News Store, 11 Post Office Arcade.
Cheshire—2 L. S. Williams.
Danbury—2 H. B. Bristol.
2 James E. Cuff, 268 Main st.
Derby—1 Robert S. Gardner.
Hartford—2 J. R. Barlow.
2 Brown, Thompson & Co.
2 Mrs. J. L. Dickerson.
2 L. Pease Co.
2 Smith & McDonough.
2 Emilie M. Sill, 39 Trumbull st.
Meriden—2 Chas. G. Blair.
2 E. T. Sills, 12 Palace Block.
Middletown—1 J. A. Broatch.
2 Lucius R. Hazen, 198 Main st.
Naugatuck—2 Henry P. McCarthy.
2 John W. Stapleton.
New Britain—2 Mrs. E. H. Chatfield.
2 Geo. M. Parson.
2 W. B. Thompson & Co.
New Haven—1 E. P. Judd Co.
1 The Pease-Lewis Co., 102 Church st.
2 Chas. S. McGilvray.
2 John J. McKee.
2 John T. Hayes, 5 Main st.
Norwich—1 Cranton & Co., 158 Main st.
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Norwich—1 Capt. Belodgett.
Rockville—2 F. A. Randall.
South Norwalk—2 H. E. Bodwell.
Stamford—2 Gillespie Bros.
2 A. S. Kellog.
Waterbury—2 Baumgartner Bros.
2 M. Bergin & Sons.
1 J. H. Devereaux & Co., 25 E. Main st.

#### Delaware.

Wilmington-1 E. S. R. Butler & Son, 420 Market st. 2 Chas. W. Smith.

#### District of Columbia.

Washington—2 Hamilton Adams, 622 9th st. cor. G., N. W.

1 Wm. Ballantyne & Sons, 428 7th st.

1 Brentano's, 1015 Penna. ave.

2 W. H. Cooper, 1450 N. Y. ave.

2 E. Dibitt House News Stand, Wm. H. Fagan.

2 E. F. Eisminger, 1404 N. Y. ave., N. W.

2 E. E. Fisher, 1715 9th st.

2 Wm. B. Garrison, 1404 14th st., N. W.

2 William G. Gentner, cor. 14th and U sts., N. W.

2 William G. Gentner, cor. 14th and U sts., N. W.

2 Frank Harrison, 611 14th st.

2 S. Hirsh, 503 11th st., N. W.

2 W. B. Holtzelaw, 1705 Penna. ave.

2 Mrs. Adams Keys, 1808 Seventh st., N. W.

2 Z. M. King, 12th & F. Sts., N. W.

2 C. V. Markward, 1322 14th st., N. W.

2 Samuel J. McMichael, 810 14th st., N. W.

2 M. McPhee, 221 Penna. ave., S. E.

2 Wm. H. Morrison, 1423 F. st., N. W.

2 Mt. Vernon Cigar & News-stand, 930 9th st., N. W.

2 Parker's Son, 1435 G st.

1 C. C. Pursell, 418 9th st., N. W.

2 F. J. Stearns, 1112 H. st., N. E.

2 Chas. P. Swett, 913 4th st.

2 Swayze, Bailey & Co., 619 7th st.

2 Woodward & Lothrop, 1007 F. st.

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#### Florida.

Jacksonville—2 H. & W. B. Drew Co. 2 O. T. Jones, 419 W. Bay st.

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Atlanta—1 Buehl Book Co., 69 Whitehall st.

2 The Columbian Book Co., 81-83 Whitehall st.

2 Dolbridge & Rice Co.

2 Leater Book & Stationery Co.

2 J. M. Miller Co.

2 Southern Book Exchange, 4 Peachtree st.

Augusta—2 Dunbar-Williams Paper Co.

2 Richards & Shaver.

Columbus—2 Thos. Choffler.

2 S. H. Johnston.

2 J. W. Pease's Sons.

Macon—2 J. W. Burke Co.

2 Holt Art Stationery Co.

Savannah—2 E. M. Connor.

2 W. N. Nichols.

2 S. H. Oppenheim.

#### Illinois.

Bloomington—2 Read & White, 210 N. Center.

2 Mrs. R. Shields, 116 N. Center st.

2 H. C. Wagner, 402 Main st.

2 Read & White, 310 N. Center st.

Champaign—1 D. H. Lloyde & Son.
Chicago—1 American Baptist Pub. Society, 177 Wabash ave.

2 S. Baldwin, 109 Quincy st.

1 P. B. Fitzpatrick, 154 22nd st.

2 Koelling & Klappenbach, 100 Randolph st.

1 A. C. McClurg & Co., 215 Wabash ave.

2 Purdy Publishing Co., 78-84 Madison st.

2 Western News Co., 204-206 Madison st.

Danville—2 Illinois Printing Co.

2 Charles M. Smith.

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2 Charles M. Smith.
2 A. G. Woodbury.

Decatur—2 J. H. Bevans, 122 N. Merchant st.
2 Geo. R. Bacon & Co., 302 N. Main st.
2 Chodat's Book Store, 143 E. Main st.
2 J. W. Carey, 147 N. Water st.
2 Haines & Elisick, 120 E. Prarie.

Evanston—2 C. L. Hertel.

Freeport—2 Brown & Dollmeyer.
3 Pattison & Kryder.
Galesburg—2 A. P. Babcock.
2 O. T. Johnson Department Store.
2 Stromberg & Tenny.

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2 O. T. Johnson Department Store.
2 Stromberg & Tenny.

Moline—2 Carlson Bros., 424 15th st.

Normal—2 McKnight & McKnight.

Peoris.—2 Paul Daenicke, 527 S. Adams st.
2 Benj. S. Green & Co., 500 Main st.
2 Jacquin & Co., 21 Main st.
2 Richardson Book & Stationery Co., 105 S. Adams st.
2 Richardson Book & Stationery Co., 105 S. Adams st.
1 D. H. Tripp & Son, 206 Main st.
Quincy—2 Pliney Janes.
2 Geo. H. Lyford & Co.
2 Henry A. Oenning.
2 Albert Waldin.

Rock Island—2 Crampton & Co.
2 Geo. H. Kingsbury.

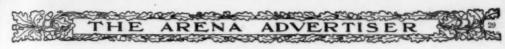
Rockford—2 C. G. Smith & Son.
2 B. R. Waldo.
2 H. H. Waldo.

Springfield—2 Coe Brothers.
2 Ed. F. Hartman, 219 S. 5th st.
1 Frank Simmons.

Watseka—1 Matthew H. Peters.

#### Indiana.

Anderson—2 Anderson News Co.
Crawfordsville—2 Brower Bros.
1 Chas. E. Lacey, 123 E. Main st.
Elkhart—2 H. A. Knevels.
2 F. 3 Turnock.
2 F. 8. Timmins.
Evansville—2 Geupel Bros., 413 Main st.
1 Smith & Butterfield, 202-204 Main st.
Fort Wayne—2 Lehman Book & News Co.
2 Louis Jocquel.
2 Siemon & Bro., 714 Calhoun st.
2 Wayne Subscription Agency, Oswald Stahn.
Indianapolis—2 Richard L. Hicks, 128 N. Alabama st.
2 Indianapolis Book & Stationery Co., 121 8 Meriden st.
2 Maria Iske, 613 S. New Jersey st.
2 Frank Kellar, 325 Mass ave.



#### Indiana-Continued.

Indiana—Continued.

Indianapolis—2 Albert D. Moore, 243 Mass ave.
2 Chas. Pingpank, 4 Fembroke Arcade.
2 George W. Russell, 5602 E. Washington st.
2 Scoffeld-Pierson Co., 146 N. Penn st.
2 Silent Evanget Society, 522 Mass ave.
2 Archias Winters, 144 Virginia ave.
Lafayette—2 Jaques-Mueller Co.
2 Francis Johnson.
2 Kimmel & Herbert.
La Porte—2 How Bros., 710 Main st.
Logansport—2 Charles W. Graves, 317-319 4th st.
2 Wilson, Humphrey & Co.
Muncie—2 D. P. Campbell & Co., 418 S. Walnut st.
2 F. B. Mickey.
2 Chas. A. Schick.
2 H. A. Shumack, 224 S. Walnut st.
2 Marion Stewart, 114 E. Main st.
Peru—1 Pilny M. Crume, 20 S. Broadway.
Richmond—2 W. H. Bartel, Jr., 925 Main st.
2 C. T. Moormann, 520 Main st.
2 Morris Ellwood & Co., 726 Main st.
2 Nicholson & Bro., 729 Main st.
South Bend—2 Herr & Herr.
1 H. S. Miller, 124 S. Michigan ave.
2 E. B. Rupel.
Terre Haute—2 Button & Craft.

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#### Town.

Iowa.

Burlington—1 Mauro & Wilson.

2 B. Sutter.

Cear Rapida-2 J. W. Albright.

2 F. A. Hall.

1 George A. Mullin Co.

2 The Record Printing Co., 321-323 Second ave.

Council Blufb—1 D. W. Bushnell.

2 L. C. Brackett, 555 Broadway.

Davenport—2 Jas. C. Duncan.

1 Thomas Thompson.

2 E. M. White.

Des Moines—1 Baker-Trisler Co., 420 Walnut st.

2 Sinssler-Chase Co., 510 Walnut st.

2 Younker Bros., 7th & Walnut sts.

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Dubuque—1 Harger & Blish, cor. Main and 9th sts.

Grinnell—2 C. E. Alley.

2 J. G. Johnson & Co.

2 Paul G. McConnell & Co.

Independence—2 H. W. Oliver, 221 Main st.

lowa City—2 Lee & Haswat.

2 University Book Store. Cerny & Louis.

2 J. J. Lee, 117 Washington st.

2 C. L. Wieneke.

Keokuk—2 The Keokuk Book Co., 628 Main st.

1 Samuel C. Westcott.

Marshalltown—2 Simmons' Book Store.

Mount Ayr—1 W. & Berkey & Son.

Mount Vernon—1 W. G. Power.

Muscatine—1 F. A. Neidig, 119 E. 2d st.

Sloux City—2 Jackson Chase Co.

2 W. I. Martin Co., 713 Fifth st.

2 Perkins Bros. Co.

#### Kansas.

Atchison—2 W. L. Johnson.

1 Mrs. I. P. Stephens, 727 Commercial st.
Council Grove—2 Post Office Book Store, Leslie H. Smith.
Emporis—2 Miss Ellen Plumb.
Eureka—2 H. A. Longwell.
Fort Scott—1 John F. Cottrell.
Garden City—2 W. Harvey, Post-office News-stand.
Hutchinson—2 The Hutchinson Book & Art Co.
Iola—3 Evans Bros.
Kansas City—2 John D. Horton & Co. Iola—3 Evans Bros.

Kansas City—2 John D. Horton & Co.

2 W. T. Maunder & Co., 632-634 Minn. st.

Lawrence—2 Rowlands & Stevenson.

2 University Book Store, L. M. Gibb, Prop.

Leavenworth—2 C. M. Chance & Co., 414 Delaware st.

2 Ketcheson Printing Co.

2 S. H. Kiser.

Manhattan—2 Spillman & Co.

2 Guy Varney.

Newton—2 S. T. Danner, P. O. Book store.

Salina—1 L. A. Will.

Topeka—2 Hall Stationery Co.

2 M. L. Zercher Book & Stationery Co.

#### Kanana-Continued

Wichita—1 Goldsmith Book & Stationery Co. 2 Rock Island Book Exchange. 2 Wm. F. Smith. 1 C. A. Tanner & Co., 122 N. Main st.

#### Kentucky.

Covington—2 C. Mendenhall, 704 Madison ave.

2 Jas. F. Thompson.

Frankfort—1 Guy Barrett.

Louisville—2 Baptist Book Concern, 642 4th ave.

2 Bradley & Gilbert, 426 3rd st.

2 F. T. Diehl, 310 W. Market st.

2 Fred A. Dougherty, 516 W. Market st.

2 Chas. T. Dearing, 356 4th ave.

2 John P. Morton & Co., 440-446 W. Main st.

2 The Chas. A. Rogers Book Co., 434 W. Jefferson st.

#### Louisians

New Orleans—2 Samuel Alitmont, 139 Carondolet st.
2 Jas. Buckley & Co., 329 Carondolet st.
2 Chas. W. Carson, 742 Union st.
2 Thos. F. Gessner, 611 Canal st.
1 F. F. Hansell & Bro., 714-716 Canal st.
2 New Orleans News Co.
2 O'Donnell Brothers, 720 Paride st.
2 O. A. Pierce, 926 Canal st.
2 B. P. Sullivan, 233 Barrone st.

#### Maina

Auburn—2 O. G. Beal, 55 Court st.
2 S. A. Poliard.
Augusta—1 J. F. Pierce.
2 Geo. W. Quimby.
Bangor—1 E. F. Dillingham, 13 Hammond st.
2 Charles Hight.
2 J. D. Olynn.
2 West Side News Co.
Bath—2 Mayers & Reed.
2 John G. Shaw.
Biddeford—2 Miss Florence Crawley.
2 L. A. Dearborn.
2 C. S. Scammon, 127 Main st.
Brunswick—2 Fred P. Shaw.
2 Byron Stevens. 2 C. S. Seammon, 127 Main st.

Brunswick—2 Fred P. Shaw.
2 Byron Stevens.
2 J. E. Davis.

Eastport—1 C. H. Cummings.
Kennybunk—2 Otis News Store.
Lewiston—2 Chandler & Winship, 100 Lisbon st.
2 I. H. Estes, 80 Lisbon st.
2 White & Westall.

Portland—2 Mrs. J. H. Allen, 381½ Congress st.
2 C. T. Barber, 412 Congress st.
2 Chisholm Bros., 283 St. John st.
2 E. P. Clark, 646 Congress st.
2 Exchange St. News Stand Co., 2 Exchange st.
2 Exchange St. News Stand Co., 2 Exchange st.
2 Lafayette Hotel News Stand.
2 J. C. Leighton, 247 Congress st.
2 J. W. Peterson, 177 Middle st.
2 J. W. Peterson, 177 Middle st.
2 J. W. Peterson, 469 Congress st.
2 William W. Roberts Company, 233 Middle st.
2 J. E. Warren, 229 Congress st.
Rockland—1 A. J. Huston, 386 Main st.
Saco—2 H. B. Kendrick & Co.
2 L. M. Staebler.
2 W. L. Streeter.
Waterville—2 W. Berry & Co.

Maryland.

#### Maryland.

more—2 Baltimore News Co.
2 Belvedere Hotel, Charles and Chase sts.
2 George Crowley, Charles and Baratoga sts.
2 George Crowley, North and Lexington sts.
2 Wm. M. Cullimore, 200 W. Lexington st.
2 George Curtis, Maryland Telephone Building.
2 Cushing & Co., W. Baltimore st.
2 George Duncan, Baratoga and St. Paul sts.
1 The Elchelberger Book Co., 308 N. Charles st.
2 Goldberg Bros., Fayette and Eutaw sts.
2 Goldsmith Bros., E Baltimore st.
2 R. L. Golder & Co., 229 N. Howard st.



#### Maryland-Continued.

Maryland—Continued.

Baltimore—2 W. E. C. Harrison & Sons, E. Baltimore st.

2 Samuel W. Harman, 320 N. Charles st.

2 J. J. Landragan, 426 W. Baltimore st.

2 John Lanahan, E. Baltimore st.

3 Lycett Stationers, 311 N. Charles st.

2 John Murphy & Co., 44 W. Baltimore st.

2 Rennert Hotel, Saratoga and Liberty sts.

2 Stafford Hotel, Charles and Madison sts.

2 W. A. Winter, Lexington and Gay sts.

2 W. A. Winter, Lexington and Gay sts.

Cumberland—1 Jno. A. Fulton & Co.

Frederick—2 Shipley & Bopst.

Hagerstown—2 R. M. Hays & Bro.

2 Jones & Smith.

2 H. E. Stover.

#### Massachusetts.

Massachusetts.

Adams—2 A. J. Hurd.

2 F. L. Snow.

Alston—2 P. E. Dukeshire, 391 Cambridge st.

2 Paine 5 Drug Store, 254 Brighton ave.

Amesbury—2 W. E. Howes.

Amherst—2 E. R. Clark & Co.

2 J. A. Rawson.

Arlington—2 Arlington News Co.

Attleboro—2 J. T. Inman & Co.

2 S. P. Clark & Co.

Auburndale—2 W. F. Hadlock.

Barnstable—1 Miss Annie B. Hinckley.

Boston—2 Adams House News Stand.

2 Bellevue Hotel News Stand, Beacon st.

2 C. A. Bonnelli, 279 Massachusetts ave.

1 Albert Brandt, Boston office of The Arena, rooms 31

and 32, 5 Park square

C. A. Bonnelli, 270 Massachusetts ave.
Albert Brandt, Boston office of THE ARENA, rooms 31 and 32, 5 Park square
H. H. Carter & Co., 8 Somerset st.
I. N. Chappell, 26 Court st.
W. B. Clarke Co., 26-28 Tremont st.
Congregational Sunday-school & Pub. Soc., 14 Beacon.
Copley Square Hotel News Stand.
C. H. Covell, 319 Tremont st.
A. J. Cowan News Stand, Ames Building.
DeWolfe, Fiske & Co., 361 Washington st.
Mrs. Fessender, 1575 Washington st.
John F. Fitzgerald, 1419 A Tremont st.
Forest Hills Station, 3708 Washington st.
G. A. Harvey, 475 Columbus ave.
Frank F. Henderson, 44 Bowdoin st.
Herrick News Stand, Boylston st.
E. M. Hudson, 629 Tremont st.
J. Jacobson, 257 Tremont st.
J. Jacobson, 257 Tremont st.
J. Jordan Marsh & Co., Book Department.
W. H. Keep, 284 Columbus ave.
W. H. Keep, 284 Columbus ave.
Hotel Lexington News Stand.
Arthur J. Mayo, 131 State st.
News Fersley News Co. 14-20 Franklin, st. 228222

22

W. H. Reby, 28 Columbus ave.

Whotel Lexington News Stand.

Arthur J. Mayo, 131 State st.

New England News Co., 14-20 Franklin st.

Hotel Nottingham News Stand.

C. A. Oelis, 1781 Washington st.

Old Corner Book Store, 27-29 Bromfield st.

Old Corner Book Store, 27-29 Bromfield st.

Old Corner House Stand.

Oxford Hotel News Stand.

Parker House News Stand.

J. H. Powers, 14 Bowdoin st.

F. L. Pratt, 575 Columbus ave.

Castle Sq. Hotel News Stand. Chas. Ross.

Smith & McCance, 38 Bromfield st.

Hotel Somerset News Stand.

T. J. Southwell, 66 Huntington ave.

Hotel Thorndyke News Stand.

Tremont Building News Stand.

E. C. Wales, 86 Massachusetts ave.

2 Hotel Horndyke News Stand.
2 Tremont Building News Stand.
2 E. C. Wales, 86 Massachusetts ave.
2 Wallace & Co., 1307 Washington st.
2 R. H. White & Co.
2 W. W. Winegar, Brigham's Hotel, 642 Washington st.
2 G. A. Woodroffe, 144 Massachusetts ave.
2 John Woodruff, 469 Tremont st.
2 Young's Hotel News Stand.
2 All Subway News Stands.
Brighton—2 Eben F. Perry, 338 Washington st.
Brockton—2 Holmes, the Newsman, Main & Pleasant cor.
2 W. B. Mason.
2 Matthews Bros.
2 Maguire Bros.
2 Maguire Bros.
2 Maguire Bros.
2 E. M. Thompson.
Brookline—2 Paine the Stationer, 239 Washington st.
Cambridge—1 Amee Brothers.
2 Fred Buenke, 553 Massachusetts ave.
1 Harvard Coöperative Society.
2 E. F. Hunt & Co.

2 E. F. Hunt & Co. 2 Chas. W. Sever. 2 Sever & Co., 1354 Massachusetts ave. 2 Chas. H. Thurston.

#### Massachusetts-Continued.

P

Cambridgeport—2 A. B. Parker, 1396 Cambridge st. Charlestown—2 F. M. Reed, 21 Main st. Chelsea—2 Fred B. Emerson, 383 Broadway.

2 Gould Sisters, 132 Pearl st.

2 N. T. McCarty, 116 Broadway.

2 J. & R. C. Percival, 5 Bellingham st. Concord—2 J. W. Craig.

2 H. L. Whitcomb.

Dedham—2 Dedham News Agency.

Dorchester—2 E. M. Brown, 75 Stoughton st.

2 C. Cazes, 1509 Dorchester ave.

2 D. H. Hunt, 1459 Dorchester ave.

2 J. H. Murphy, 114 Dorchester st.

2 N. W. Prescott, 1438 Dorchester st.

2 J. E. Hamlin, 232 Meridian st.

2 J. E. Hamlin, 232 Meridian st.

2 W. H. B. Kibby, 36 Central square.

2 Richard McDonald, 80 Meridian st.

2 J. F. Murphy, 131 Lexington st.

Fall River—2 City News Co.

2 James H. Fernley, 326 S. Main st.

Fitchburg—2 A. W. Durgin.

2 H. T. Estabrook, 236 Main st.

2 Geo. W. Wright.

Fitchburg—2 J. E. Thompson.

2 H. E. Remington & Co., 356 Main st.
2 Geo. W. Wright.
Fitchburg—2 J. E. Thompson.
Florence—2 J. W. Bird.
Gloucester—2 W. S. Burnham.
Proctor Bros. Co., 108 Main st.
Greenfield—2 Greenfield News Co.
Haverhill—2 Harry Ayer, 45 Washington st.
2 Essex News Co., 134 Merrimac st.
2 Wm. E. How, 27 Washington square.
2 W. O. Tuck.
Holyoke—2 Dickenson's.
2 Fitzgerald & Co.

2 Essex News Co., 134 Merrimac st.
2 Wm. E. How, 27 Washington square.
2 Wm. E. How, 27 Washington square.
2 Wo. Tuck.
Holyoke—2 Dickenson's,
2 Fitzgerald & Co.
2 R. R. Nickerson.
Hudson—2 E. F. Worcester, 23 Main st.
Hyannis—1 A. G. Guyer.
Jamaica Plain—2 H. F. Brooks, 702 Centre st.
Lawrence—2 Central News Co.
2 Franklin House News Stand, 45 Broadway.
2 E. Kellett, 887 Essex st.
Lawrence—2 Central News Co.
2 Franklin House News Stand, 45 Broadway.
2 E. Kellett, 887 Essex st.
Lexington—2 Herbert V. Smith.
Lowell—2 S. A. Garson, 8 Central st.
2 M. J. Hale, N. Station News Stand.
2 H. E. Harris, 10 Appleton st.
2 T. H. Lawler.
2 Geo. C. Prince & Co., 108 Merrimac st.
2 Tilton & Co.
Lynn—2 M. E. Austin, 70 Market st.
2 R. S. Bauer, 31 Central square.
2 J. J. Costello, 13 Central square.
2 T. J. Dumas, 68 Market square.
2 T. J. Oughlin, 22 Nason st.
2 R. W. Ford & Co., 192 Pleasant st.
Marlboro—1 Charles S. Thomson.
Maynard—2 B. J. Coughlin, 22 Nason st.
2 J. H. Dickerman, 78 Main st.
Medford—2 Mrs. Momson, Tufts square.
Merrimac—2 Goodwin & Co.
Millord—2 F. Tompkins.
Milton—2 A. L. Holden.
2 Miss Annie Lawless.
Netwick—2 Fairbanks & Son, 16 Main st.
Neponsett—2 F. H. Crocker, 4 Walnut st.
New Bedford—2 George L. Briggs, 161 Purchase st.
2 E. P. Berthiaume, 877 S. Water st.
2 E. P. Berthiaume, 877 S. Water st.
2 F. S. Brighman Co., 127 Union st.
1 H. S. Hutchinson & Co., 198-202 Union st.
2 Robert W. Taber, 28 Pleasant st.
2 F. B. Brighman Co., 127 Union st.
1 H. S. Hutchinson & Co., 17 State st.
2 G. H. Pearson, 35 State st.
New Dorchester—2 A. D. F. Noie, 2770 Dorchester ave.
Newton Lower Falls—2 Kenney Bros.
North Adams—2 D. A. Anderson.
2 F. E. Gurney.
1 Estate of F. L. Tilton, 87 Main st.
Northampton—2 Edw. H. Bannister.
2 Joseph Marsh.
2 F. W. Roberts.
North Attleborough—2 A. R. Block, 170 Washington st.
2 G. K. Webster.



#### Massachusette-Ontinued.

Northbridge—2 Drug Store News Stand, Norwood—2 A. J. Gay's News Stand. 2 King's News Stand. Pittsfield—3 Geo. Blatchford. 2 E. E. Cleveland. 2 Kennedy & McInnes News Co.

Pittsfield—3 Geo. Blatchford.

2 E. E. Cleveland.
2 Kennedy & McInnes News Co.
2 Wm. Nugent.
Plymouth—1 A. S. Burbank, The Pilgrim Book Store.
Quincy—2 C. F. Carlson, Depot News Stand.
2 L. A. Chapin, 1395 Hanceck st.
Randolpb—2 Wm. Crossley.
Roxbury—2 E. G. Babcock, 479 Dudley st.
2 Wm. Burnett, 179 Dudley st.
2 A. H. Copley Drug Co., 534 Columbia st.
2 A. H. Copley Drug Co., 364 Bowdoin st.
2 A. H. Copley Drug Co., 316 Bowdoin st.
2 A. H. Copley Drug Co., 784 Dudley st.
2 A. H. Copley Drug Co., 784 Dudley st.
2 N. F. Field & Co., 235 Dudley st.
2 Eben Hallett, 117 Dudley st.
2 Lord Bros., 505 Dudley st.
2 Lord Bros., 505 Dudley st.
2 T. C. Smith, 670 Dudley st.
2 T. C. Smith, 670 Dudley st.
2 T. A. Wallace, 3 Bine Hill ave.
2 L. Wolpe, 352 Warren st.
Salem—2 Almy, Bigelow & Washburn.
2 L. B. Moody, 131 Washington st.
2 W. P. Radford & Co., 159 Washington st.
Saxonville—2 The Grover Store, 50 Union square.
Sometville—2 The Grover Store, 50 Union square.
South Framingham—2 J. F. Eber, 22 Concord st.
Springfield—1 Henry R. Johnson, 313 Main st.
2 Springfield—1 Henry R. Johnson, 313 Main st.
2 Springfield—1 Kews Co.
Stoughton—2 Wilkens' Drug Store, Washington st.
Taunton—2 Edgar C. Leavitt, 49 Main st.
Wenham Depot—2 H. E. Andrews.
Westfield—2 S. S. Conner.
2 W. J. Smith, 50 Elm st.
West Somerville—2 Libby's News Stand, 6 Holland st.
Winchester—2 A. W. Rooney, 181 Main st.
2 D. H. Boyden, 978 Main st.
2 L. H. Browning, 568 Main st.
2 D. H. Boyden, 978 Main st.
2 L. H. W. Van Hoovar & Co., 7 Main st.
2 H. W. Van Hoovar & Co., 7 Main st.
2 H. W. Van Hoovar & Co., 7 Main st.
2 Worcester B. & A. Station.

## Michigan.

Adrian—1 G. Roscoe Swift, 10-12 Maumee st., E. Alpena—2 Adam Ludewig, Prop., Adam's Book Store. Ann Arbor—F. J. Schleede. 2 Sheehan & Co., 320 S. State st.

Ann Arbor—F. J. Schleede.

2 Sheehan & Co., 220 S. State st.
2 George Wahr.
Battle Creek—City Book Store.

1 E. C. Fisher & Co., 12 W. Main st.
2 Smith & Bewiter, 6 E. Main st.
2 Smith & Bewiter, 6 E. Main st.
2 Chas. M. Wiseman, 62 W. Main st.
Bay City—2 Henry Crotty.
2 C. & J. Gregory Co.
2 W. D. Richardson.
Benton Harbor—2 The Bird Drug Co.
Detroit—2 J. B. Abbard, 87 Woodward ave.
2 The Ambos Co., 35 Lafayette ave.
2 Cadillac Hotel.
2 Detroit News Co.
2 W. E. Dobson, 89 Shelby st.
2 C. J. Holton, 145 Woodward ave.
1 Macauley Bros., 172 Woodward ave.
2 Russell House, Waiter B. Jackson.
1 John V. Sheehan & Co., 160 Woodward ave.
2 G. F. Schwuck, 110 Gratiot st.
2 H. J. Van Baalen, 242 and 277 Woodward ave.
East Jordan—2 Steffes News Depot.
Flint—1 M. E. Cartton, 510 Saginaw st.
2 S. B. Clark & Co.
Grand Rapids—2 Will M. Hine.
2 H. Leonard & Sons.
2 W. Millard Palmer Co., 20-22 Monroe st.
Jackson—2 C. S. Brown Book Store.
2 O. E. Pettit, 110-112 S. Mechanic st.
Kalamazoo—1 Beecher & Kymer, 129 S. Burdick st.
2 Miss Lizzie J. Caryl, 104 S. Burdick st.
Lansing—2 Crotty Bros.
2 A. M. Emery.

Lansing—2 Crotty Bros. 2 A. M. Emery.

#### Michigan-Continued.

Marquette—2 Bigelow & Company.
Port Huron—2 K. H. Hubbard, 508 Water st.
2 Patterson & MacTaggart.
Saginaw—2 F. J. Kelsey, 216 Genesee ave.
2 Swinton, Reynolds & Cooper Co.
Wayne—2 Owen Raymo.
Ypsilanti—1 Rogers-Weinmann-Matthews Co., 118 Congress st.

#### Minnesota

Cannon Falls—2 Scofield Brothers.
Duluth—2 Albertson Stationery & Book Co., 330 W. Superiorst.
2 Chamberlain & Taylor.

Dutth—2 Albertson Stationery & Book Co., 530 W. Superio 2 Chamberlain & Taylor.
2 Lundberg & Stone.

Minneapolis—2 Cushman & Plummer, 24 Washington st.
2 Wm. Donaldson & Co.
1 Nathaniel McCarthy, 622 Nicollet ave.
2 Powers Mercantile Co.
2 Edwin R. Williams.
2 S. M. Williams.
2 H. W. Wilson Co., 315-319 14th ave., 8. E.

Moorhead—1 B F. Mackall, 510 Front st.
8t. Cloud—1 E. W. Atwood & Co., 517 St. Germain st.
8t. Cloud—1 E. W. Atwood & Co., 517 St. Germain st.
8t. Paul—2 W. H. Elsinger & Co., 95 E. 7th st.
2 Minnesota News Co., 19 W. 3d st.
2 Schlick & Field Co.
2 Schuneman & Evans.
1 St. Paul Book & Stationery Co., 5th & St. Peter sts.
2 Henry E. Wedelstaedt Co., 91 E. 6th st.

Jackson—2 Eyrich & Co. Vicksburg—2 Clarke & Co.

#### Missouri.

Missouri.

Chillicothe—1 Wm. McIlwrath, 613 Locust st.

Hannibal—2 Hannibal Book & Stationery Co.

2 S. G. Kent.

Kansas City—Bryant & Douglas Book & Sta. Co., 1002 Walnut.

2 Emery, Bird, Thayer Dry Goods Co.

2 The B. Glick Book Store, 612 Main st.

2 Geo. B. Peck Dry Goods Co.

2 South West News Co., 410 E. 9th st.

Springfield—1 Browne Bros., N. W. cor. Square.

8t. Joseph—2 Brill Book & Stationery Co.

2 Ed. R. Brandow, Jr.

1 W. H. Schroeder, 112-114 S. 8th st.

St. Louis—2 Barr Dry Goods Co.

2 W. S. Bell & Son, 818 Olive st.

2 E. T. Jett B. & N. Co., 506 Olive st.

1 Philip Roeder, 616 Locust st.

1 St. Louis News Co., 1008 Locust st.

Springfield—2 Fairbanks & O'Day.

2 J. A. Stephens.

#### Montana

Montana.

Montana.

2 Robert Grieg.
2 M. D. Logan.

Boreman-2 J. Bozinski & Co.

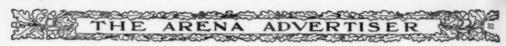
Butte—2 B. E. Calkins.
1 John G. Evans.
2 Montana Book Co.
2 Passmore Paper Co.
2 D. W. Tilton.

Great Falls—2 W. F. Burgy & Co.

Helena-2 Miss Libble Blanchard.
2 A. P. Curtin Book & Stationery Co., 17 & 19, West, Sixth ave., opposite Montana Club.

#### Nebrasica.

Beatrice—2 O. W. Beckwith.
2 W. H. Hoffstot.
Lincoln—2 H. W. Brown, 127 S. 11th st.
2 Cooperative Book Co.
2 Harley Drug Co.
2 Herpolyheimer & Co.
2 P. O. Mahoney.
2 Harry Porter, 125 S. 12th st.
2 University Book Store.
Omaha—2 Bilz & Kieser.
2 Barkalow Bros., 1612 Farnum st.
2 Megeath Stationery Co., 1208 Farnam st.
2 Moyer Stationery Co., 220 S. 16th st.
2 Omaha News Co.



#### New Hampshire.

Concord—2 Edron C. Eastman. 2 E. L. Glick. 2 W. C. Glison. 2 F. P. Mace. 2 F. E. Nelson. 1 Charles F. Nichols. Dover—2 C. E. Brewster Co.

I Charles F. Nichols.
Dover—2 C. E. Brewster Co.
2 Cavanaugh Bros.
2 Fred H. Foss.
Exeter—J. H. Batchelder.
Hanover—1 E. P. Storrs.
Keene—2 Robert K. Aikman.
2 W. H. Spalter & Co.
2 G. H. Tilden & Co.
Lancaster—1 Geo. H. Colby & Co., 22 Main st.
Manchester—1 W. P. Goodman.
2 Lloyd T. Mead.
2 E. A. Stratton.
Nashua—2 W. H. Lovejoy.
2 Mary A. Morrison.
2 Nashua Stationery Co.
2 F. E. Nelson.
1 Smith's Book Store.
Portsmouth—2 Frank Marston.
2 Moses Bros.
2 C. E. Tilton, 14 Market st.
Winchester—1 W. H. Guernsey.

#### New Jersey.

New Jersey.

Atlantic City—2 Chas. Harris, 1024 Atlantic ave. 2 R. T. Chapman, 1831 Atlantic ave.
Bordentown—2 Edward Clift.
2 Molley & Fitzgerald.
Bridgeton—2 Howard W. Fithian.
2 Chas. F. Dare.
Burlington—2 J. F. Clime, 319 High st.
2 Jas. Shaw, 352 High st.
Dover—2 C. H. Bennett, Sussex st.
2 M. C. Havens, Sussex st.
2 A. M. McFail, Blackwell st.
Elizabeth—3 Farnham Morrison, 314 West Jersey st.
Flemington—2 E. Vosseller.
Hoboken—2 Henry Eisenhauer, 1204 Washington st.
2 John Kirker, 9th and Garden sts.
2 Max Machel, 512 Washington st.
3 W. A. Schell, 916 Washington st.
3 W. A. Schell, 916 Washington st.
2 John Kirker, 9th and Garden sts.
2 Heed Bros. 203 Washington st.
2 Geo. Johnson, Jr., 613 Newark ave.
2 Geo. Johnson, Jr., 613 Newark ave.
2 George Uhl, 153 Monticello ave.
Montclair—1 Edward Madison.
Morristown—2 H. G. Emmell.
2 M. P. Norris, 13 South st.
1 J. R. Runyon, 30 Park Place.
Newark—2 R. Brant, Market st.
2 Campbell & Co., 169 Plane st.
1 P. F. Mulligan, 927 Broad st.
2 Newark News Co.
New Brunswick—1 W. R. Reed.
2 Seiffert Bros.
2 Charles Tamm, 376 George st.
2 Frank Zahn.
Passaic—2 Franklin Blake.
2 Alex. T. Borig.
2 Wm. Malcolm & Son.
Paterson—2 E. J. Douglass.
2 Wm. Gordon.
2 Inglis Stationery Co.
2 Emil Kuhn.
3 J. Hosey Osborn, 107 Broadway.
2 Passaic County News Co.

Emil Kuhn.

2 Emil Kuhn.
3 J. Hosey Osborn, 107 Broadway.
2 Passaic County News Co.
2 Tynan's Book Stationery and Music Store, 254 Main st.
2 Jos. Williamson.
Penthamboy—2 Pat. White & Son.
, 2 J. Kaletsh.
Phillipsburg—2 F. B. Arndt.
Geo. L. Yeisley.
Plainfield—2 Mulford Estil, 111 Park ave.
2 Edw. A. Laing, 149 W. Front st.
Princeton—2 James R. Drake.
2 Richard Rowland.
2 E. J. Van Martor.
Rahway—2 Wm. J. Bodwell.
2 H. L. Moore, 36 Cherry st.
2 Jas. H. Terrill.

#### New Jersey-Continued.

omerville-2 W. G. Tunison. Trenton—2 James G. Anderson, 319 S. Broad st. 2 Fred. W. Bennett, 1006 S. Clinton ave.

1 Albert Brandt, Trenton office of THE ARENA, Broad and Front sts.

Bro

Bi

ADDET STANDY, TYPENDON OFFICE OF THE ARENA, Broad Front sts.

J. H. Brodbeck, Clinton and Yard aves.

P. T. Bruthers, 6 Perry st.
Clinton Street Depot, Grant Castner, Manager.

S. P. Dunham & Co.

K. W. Garside, 2 S. Broad.

Mrs. I. L. Gervin, 106 E. Front st.

Frank W. Hankinson, 232 S. Broad st.

Fred Jauss, Jr., 839 S. Clinton ave.

Ketterer's News-stand, 308 E. State st.

S. E. Kaufman, Broad and Lafayette sts.

Harvey Lighteap, 412 S. Clinton ave.

John McCollough, cor. Spring and Willow sts.

John McGarry, 624 Perry st.

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Stoll Blank Book & Stationery Co., 32 E. State st.

C. L. Traver, 108 S. Broad st.

#### New Mexico.

Albuquerque-1 Samuel E. Newcomer.

#### New York.

Albany—2 Albany News Co.

1 A. H. Clapp, 32 Maiden Lane.
1 Abram DeBlaey.

Amsterdam—2 D. J. Crotty.
2 Carl, Degnan & Carl.
2 Philip J. Henzel, 22 S. Pearl St.
2 E. F. Newkirk.
2 Tucker Bros.

Auburn—2 Irving S. Colwell, 97 Genesee st.
2 W. R. Keyse.

2 Philip J. Henzel, 22 S. Pearl St.
2 E. F. Newkirk.
2 Tucker Bros.
Auburn—2 Irving S. Colwell, 97 Genesee st.
2 Wm. R. Keyes.
2 Wm. H. Zepp Estate, 119 Genesee st.
Binghampton—2 Walter R. Miller & Co., 170 Washington st.
2 Geo. S. Perry & Co., 66 Court st.
Brooklyn—2 B. Albert, L. Station, Nostrand ave. & Fulton st.
2 H. Atwood, Washington and Concord sts.
2 Bagley Bros., 11 Gates ave.
2 Geo. Baier, 67 Lafayette ave.
2 Geo. Baier, 67 Lafayette ave.
2 Wm. Warren Brackett, 223 7th ave.
2 L. H. Bornscheuer, 223 DeKalb ave.
2 Lawrence Caporale, 182 DeKalb ave.
2 Morris B. Cantor, 93 7th ave.
2 Lawrence Caporale, 182 DeKalb ave.
2 Jos. Carman, 303 Myrtle ave.
2 Nat. Cohen, 673 Fulton st.
2 Cook & Roberts, 244 Fulton st.
2 Tony Echard, 731 Fulton st.
2 R. Eisenstein, 203 5th ave.
2 A. Elliott, 274 5th ave.
2 A. Elliott, 274 5th ave.
3 F. Fellman, 478 Myrtle ave.
4 F. Friedlman, 1098 Flatbush ave.
4 H. Friedman, 359 7th ave.
2 J. Frumkin, 355 Nostrand ave.
2 J. Frumkin, 355 Nostrand ave.
2 J. Frumkin, 355 Nostrand ave.
2 J. Frustenberg, 206 Court st.
2 John A. Gavagan, Hall of Record News Stand.
2 Jos. Gresser, 300 7th ave.
2 F. Hagadorn, 1145 Fulton st.
2 J. M. Hagerty, 394 Court st.
2 J. M. Hagerty, 394 Court st.
2 O. Hart & Son, 332 7th ave.
2 Wm. Kennedy, 508 5th ave.
2 Wm. Kennedy, 508 5th ave.
3 Laffe, 1063 Bedford ave.
4 Wm. Leventhal, 176 7th ave.
5 Marils Bros., 1115 Fulton st.
5 M. Leventhal, 176 7th ave.
6 Marils Bros., Franklin and Fulton sts.
6 Marils Bros., Franklin and Fulton sts.
6 J. C. McBarron, Court sq. and Fulton sts.
6 J. C. McBarron, Court sq. and Fulton sts.
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6 J. C. McBarron, Court sq. and Fulton sts.
6 J. C. McBarron, Court sq. and Fulton sts.
6 J. J. Mermelstein, 1045 Bedford ave.
6 Meyerson Bros., 229 5th ave.
7 Marils Bros., Franklin and Fulton sts.
8 J. C. McBarron, Court sq. and Fulton sts.
9 J. J. Murphy, 345 DeKalb ave.
9 Meyerson Bros., 229 5th ave.
9 J. F. Orr, 1 Myrtle ave.
9 Geo. E. Parker, 1351 Fulton sts.
9 J. C. Orr, 2 Myrtle ave.
9 J.



#### New York-Ontinued

and

st

clyn—2 Frederick Pfaff, 395 Myrtle ave.

2 M. Pines, 664 5th ave.

2 A. E. Pyne, Municipal Building News Stand.

2 Benj. Rabinowitz, 311 Court st.

2 B. Rachman, S. E. cor. Fulton and Concord sts.

2 Geo. H. Rhodes, 466 7th ave.

2 James Rigeby, 7 Liberty st.

2 M. Rosenberg, 455 Myrtle ave.

2 I. Ruditz, 77 7th ave.

2 I. Ruditz, 77 7th ave.

2 D. Schlighter, 89 5th ave.

2 L. Schultz, 188 Fulton st.

2 E. Siebert, 426 A 7th ave.

2 J. M. Slutzkin, 233 5th ave.

2 J. M. Slutzkin, 233 5th ave.

2 D. Sunberg, Myrtle and Washington aves.

2 D. Sunberg, Myrtle and Washington aves.

2 L. Weinstein, 134 5th ave.

2 Jos. Weintraub, 111 Flatbush.

2 Edwin E. Willcox, 412 7th ave.

2 Goo. W. Wynne Co., 1162 Fulton st.

3 Henry B. Brown Co.

2 Ernest Besser's Sons.

4 Henry B. Brown Co.

2 F. E. Comstock.

4 H. H. Otis & Sons, 650 Main st. Brooklyn-2 Frederick Pfaff, 395 Myrtle ave. 2 Ernest Besser's Sons.
2 Henry B. Brown Co.
2 F. E. Comstock.
1 H. H. Otis & Sons, 650 Main st.
2 R. F. Sherman.
1 The Otto Ulbrich Co., 386 Main st.
2 R. F. Sherman.
2 W. H. Foster.
Cazenovia—1 Wm. Watkins.
Clifton Springs—1 H. S. Bundy.
Cohoes—2 Jos. Stevens.
Corling—2 Frank L. Clute.
Cortland—1 McKinney & Doubleday.
Dunkirk—2 C. K. Abell & Son.
2 Mrs. A Kalb.
2 F. K. Lyon.
Emira—1 Hosmer S. Billings, 112 Baldwin st.
2 L. T. Holmes, 10 Carroll st.
2 N. J. Thompson Co., State & Market sts.
Fulton—1 F. W. Lasher.
Geneva—2 J. L. Fahly.
2 James B. Foster.
2 Louis Klopfer, 75 Seneca st., Masonic Temple.
2 Byron W. Scott.
2 Codes & Casler.
2 N. G. Snow.
Hmilton—1 James B. Grant.
Hudson—2 S. A. & M. J. Boucher.
2 James McAree.
2 H. C. Taylor.
1 Wm. H. Ziesenitz, 532 Warren st.
Ithaca—2 R. C. Osborn & Co.
2 Taylor & Corpenter.
Jamaica—2 Long Island News Co. 2 H. C. Taylor.

1 Wm. H. Ziesenitz, 532 Warren st.

Ithaca—2 R. C. Osborn & Co.
2 Taylor & Corpenter.

Jamaica—2 Long Island News Co.
Jamestown—2 Brooks News Co., 8 East Third st.
2 Frank B. Clark, 300 Main st.
2 James G. Smith, 13 W. 2nd st.

Kingston—2 Bruyn Payer Co.
1 Forsyth & Davis, 307 Wall st.
2 Aifred J. Kiersted.
2 A. J. Murphy.
2 Wm. M. O'Rielly.
2 T. W. Wadsworth.
2 Arthur E. Winter.
2 E. Winter.
Little Falls—2 Bryon E. Chapman.
2 J. R. Newell.
Lockport—2 Carl & Carl.
2 Wm. H. O'Keefe.
Malone—1 Thomas T. Buttrick.
Middletown—1 Hanford & Horton, 6 North st.
2 Chas. A. Ketcham, 11 North st.
2 S. W. Millspaugh & Co.
Mount Vernon—2 Charles A. Carpenter, 22 Mt. Vernon ave.
2 C. C. Cowins, 60 S. 4th ave.
2 F. Decker, 8 S. 4th st.
2 C. Diener, 14 1st st.
2 Genung & McArdle.
2 F. H. Jewett, 9 W. 3d st.
2 Thos. E. Skinner & Co.
New York City—2 American News Co., 39-41 Chambers at.
2 J. Abrashkay, 583 10th ave.
2 C. G. Anderson, 516 3rd ave.
2 Astor House News Stand.
3 Baker & Taylor Co., 33 E. 17th st. New York—Continued.

New York City—2 Bama Bros., 1962 Amsterdam ave.
2 Samuel Barnett, 412 E. 66th st.
2 H. Bell, 483 7ad ave.
2 sospillation of the continued Fulton st. City Hall, East. City Hall, West Hall and Bridge.

Chatham sq.



#### New York-Continued

New York City-Third Avenue Elevated Stations-Cont. Houston st. 9th st. up. 34th st. up. 34th st. down. 42d st. down. 59th st. down. 59th st. down. 106th st. down. 125th st. down. 129th st. down. 138th st. down. 149th st. down. 156th st. down.

150ta st. down.
161st st. down.
166th st. down.
177th st. down.
2 Sixth Avenue Elevated Stations—
South Ferry.
Battery Place.

Rector st. Cortland st. Park Place. Chambers st. Franklin st. Grand st. Bleecker st. 8th st. up. 14th st. up. 14th st. down. 18th st. up. 18th st. down. 23d st. up. 23d st. down. 28th st. up. 28th st. down. 33d st, up. 33d st, down. 42d st, up. 42d st, down. 50th st. up. 50th st. down. 58th st. up. 116th st. up. 125th st. up.

2 Ninth Avenue Elevated Stations-Rector st.

Cortland st.
 Warren st.
 Franklin st.
 59th st. down.
 66th st. down.
 66th st. down.
 72d st. down.
 81st st. down.
 934 st. down.
 104th st. down.
 110th st. down.
 110th st. down.
 110th st. down.
 125th st. down.
 135th st. down.
 135th st. down.
 140th st. down.
 140th st. down.
 15th st. down.
 18th st. down.
 2 J. H. Horton.
 2 T. J. Chapman.
 Niagara Falls—2 George S. Cowper, 39 Falls st.
 2 Niagara Falls—8 George S. Cowper, 39 Falls st.
 2 Niagara Falls News Co.
 Nyack—1 w. W. Hinton.
 Ogdensburg—2 Newell Smith & Co.
 Olean—2 Henry Saunders, 190 Main st.
 Oneonta—2 Henry Saunders, 190 Main st.
 Patchegue—3 H. S. Conklin.
 Poughkeepsie—1 J. P. Ambler Company, 254 Main st. & 5
 Market.
 2 H. S. Acker. Cortland st. Warren st.

Poughkeepsie—I J. P. Ambler Company, 254 Market.
2 H. S. Acker.
1 Flager & Co., 292 Main st.
Rochester—2 Rochester News Co.
1 Scrantom. Wetmore & Co., 21-23 State st.
2 Vorberg Bros., 126 State st.
Rome—2 J. H. Wilson.
2 C. O. Zimmerman Co.
Saratoga—2 B. Brunner, 376 Broadway.
2 G. F. Blackmer & Son.
2 H. Doney.
2 C. P. Penfield.

#### New York-Continued.

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New York—Continued.

Saratoga—2 Putman & Freeman.

1 Robson & Adee.

Schenectady—2 Chas. Burrows.

2 William J. Gleason.

2 Robson & Adee.

Syracuse—1 Bailey & Sackett, University Block.

2 W. H. H. Chamberlain.

2 W. Y. Foote Co., University Block.

2 Geo. A. Mosher.

1 Clarence E. Wolcott, Vanderbilt square.

2 The E. G. Wyckoff Co., 209 E. Genesee st.

2 Zeuner Bros.

Troy—2 Arthur M. Allen, 506 Fulton st.

2 T. U. Davidson, 266 River st.

2 Northern News Co.

2 P. J. Shen.

1 Wm. H. Young, 8-9 1st st.

Utlea—2 A. J. Purvis.

3 W. T. Smith Co., 145 Genesee st.

West Troy—2 C. T. Moore Co.

Warsaw—3 Wilson & Parker.

Watertown—1 W. H. Halladay.

1 John Sterling.

White Plains—2 L. A. Owen.

Yonkers—2 C. B. Ash, Warburton ave.

2 Geo. W Bruce.

1 Wm. Palmer East.

#### North Carolina.

Asheville—1 H. Taylor Rogers. Charlotte—2 Stone & Barringer. 2 R. C. Ross. 2 John M. Scott & Co. Greensboro—2 Mrs. M. E. Howard. 2 Smithdeal Music Co. 2 Wharton Bros.

2 Wharton Bros.
Raleigh—2 Raleigh Stationery Co.
2 Southern Book Exchange.
2 Williams & Co.
Winston—2 Justice & Browder.

#### North Dakota.

Bismark—2 R. D. Hoskins.

2 C. H. Philips.
Devil's Lake—2 T. A. Haslam.

2 S. C. Jones.
2 Roble & Co.
Fargo—2 Mrs. C. E. Green.

2 K. S. Knudsen, 710 Front st.

2 Mrs. Flora Morris.
2 North Dakota Book & Stationery Co.
Grand Forks—2 R. B. Griffith.

2 Thos. Lude.

2 Thos. Lude.

Akron—2 Dague Bros. & Co.

2 Long & Taylor.
2 M. O'Nell & Co.
2 Robinson Book Store.

Ashtabula—2 Clark & Co.
2 A. B. Cook & Co.
2 Hunt & Co.
2 R. W. Knowlton.

Bellaire—2 Bellaire News Agency.
2 W. D. Jones.

Cincinnati—2 Cincinnati News Co.
1 Davis L. James, 127 W. 7th st.
2 Pounsford Stationery Co., 131 E. 4th st.
2 Reinhart & Momberg (Prop's Healy's), 525 Walnut St.

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2 Heinhart & Momberg (Prop's Healy's), 525 Walnut st.
2 The Armstrong News & Stationery Company, 419 Main st.
2 Max Weil & Co., 412 Vine st.
Cleveland—I The Burrows Bros. Co., 133 Euclid ave.
2 Cleveland News Co., 292 St. Clair st.
2 Gepfert & Crummell, 170 Euclid ave.
2 Geppert's Book Store, 138 Superior st.
2 Hexter's News Depot, 338 Superior st.
2 Rodgers & Co., 1285 Euclid ave.
2 Thomas & Mattell, 692 Woodland ave.
1 The Vinson & Korner Co., 150 Euclid ave.
Columbus—2 Beck Berginer Co.
2 Beck & Orr.
1 S. F. Harriman, 11 S. High st.
2 McClelland & Co.
2 E. H. Sell & Co.
2 A. H. Smythe, 43 S. High st.
2 L. S. Wells.



#### Ohlo-Continued.

Ohlo—Continued.

Dayton—2 Dayton News Co., 28 E. 5th st.
2 W. W. Kile & Co., 21 & 23 W. 5th st.
2 Sullivan & Eyer, 33 E. 5th st.
3 United Brethren Publishing House, cor. 4th and Main st.
2 William C. Mayer, 19 S. Main.
Elyris—2 J. C. Bins.
2 Edred & Co.
Findlay—1 John C. Firmin, 319 S. Main st.
Gallipulis—1 Schrwood A. Moore Co., 324 2d ave.
Greenville—1 Chas. P. Gibson, 521 Broadway.
Hamilton—2 Wm. C. Miller.
2 J. C. Schwartz.
McCounelsville—2 John S. Adair.
Marietta—1 Marietta Book Store.
Middletown—2 Mitchell Bros.
2 Johnson & Co.
Oberlin—2 A. G. Comings.
1 J. W. Stoakes.
Newark—2 Allison & Co.
Oberlin—2 A. G. Comings.
1 L. J. Goodrich.
Painsville—2 M. H. Culby.
2 Grev & Chesney.
2 Haw H. C. Huntington & Co.
Springfield—2 Beale & Mumper, 26 E. High st.
2 H. S. Limbocker, Arcade.
2 Pierce & Co., 13 S. Fountain ave.
2 W. H. Wood & Co., 8 E. Main st.
Steubenville—2 Caldwell & Son.
2 Irwin & Robinsin.
Tifin—1 Will H. Good, 97 S. Washington st.
Toledo—1 Brown, Eager & Hull Co., 409 Summit st.
2 Franklin Printing & Engraving Co.
Youngstown—2 C. H. Krauter.
2 W Well & Hiney.
Zenda—2 R. C. West.
Zanesville—2 Edmiston-Horney Co.
2 M. V. B. Kennedy.

#### Oklahoma.

Guthrie-1 F. B. Lillie & Co.

Ashland—2 Marks Drug Store.

2 McNair Bros.
Astoria—1 Jno. N. Griffin, 502-504 Commercial st.
Baker City—1 Carl Adler.
Eugene—1 E. Schwarzschild.
Oregon City—1 Huntley Bros.
Portland—1 J. K. Gill Co., 133 3rd st.
2 Lipman, Wolfe & Co.
2 Meier & Frank Co.
1 W. E. Jones, 291 Alder st.
2 W. A. Schmale, 229 First st.
2 W. A. Schmale.
Salem—2 The W. H. Burghardt Co., 263 Commercial st.
2 Patton Bros.

Pennsylvania.

Allentown—2 C. H. Smid. 808 Hamilton st.

2 J. A. Shafer, 33 N. 7th st.

2 Clarence H. Stiles, 529 Hamilton st.
Altoona—2 Wm. F. Gable & Co.

2 S. Kramer, 1502 11th ave.

2 T. L. McCartusy, 1111 11th ave.

2 Sheffer & Werner, 1109 11th ave.

Apollo—1 Frank T. Wray.
Bethlehem—2 Barron & Cruickshank, Main & Broad sts.

2 Moravian Publishing Concern.
Bloomsburg—1 S. R. Bidleman.
Bradford—2 Brennan & Davis.

2 W. L. Field.

2 W. L. Field.

2 W. W. Whitman.

2 W. W. Whitman.

2 James H. Richards.

Chambersburg—2 Theo. Lightcap & Co.

2 H. Yeager.

Columbia—2 Geo. H. & Allen Richards.
Conemangh—2 John B. Cooney.

Coudersport—2 M. S. Thompson & Co.

Corry—2 N. F. Ames & Co.

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#### Pennsylvania-Continued.

Pennsylvania—Continued.

Easton—2 B. F. Beatty.
2 Chaa J. Montague.
2 E. D. Vogel.
2 William J. Sell, 701 State st.
2 William J. Sell, 701 State st.
2 John H. Walker, 731 State st.
Franklin—2 Bensinger, Smith & Co.
Hanover—2 J. W. Flacher & Co., Fountain Square.
2 H. Long & Son.
2 F. G. & W. L. McKinney.
Harrisburg—1 Central Book Store, 329 Market st.
1 S. W. Fleming.
2 A. G. Lehman, 1204 N. 3rd st.
2 Meth. Book Store, 20 N. Second st.
2 T. F. Scheffer, 21 S. Market st.
2 Wm. S. Tunis, 6 N. 3rd st.
4 Meth. Book Store, 20 M. Smith.
Huntingdon—2 J. A. Nash.
Johnstown—2 W. A. Horan, 546 Main st.
2 Johnstown Book Store, Ltd.
2 Kaylor's Book Store, 338 Washington st.
2 Joseph Ruth, 128 Clinton st.
2 W. B. Waters & Bro., 217 Franklin st.
Kittanning—1 Furnee & Kennerdell.
Lancaster—2 C. H. Barr, 31 Penn sq.
2 Albert M. Deichler, 202 E. Chestnut st.
2 G. L. Fon Dersmith, 46 E. King st.
2 Chas. Ream, 104 N. Queen st.
Lebanon—2 J. A. DeHuff.
2 Halbach & Mach.
2 D. P. Witmyer.
2 H. C. Wentz.
Mauch Chunk—1 E. F. Luckenbach, 61 Broadway.
2 Mauch Chunk News Co.
2 George Schwartzman.
Morrisville—2 H. Roberts.
Norristown—2 W. H. Earnshaw.
1 Thomas Sames.
2 F. D. Sower.
1 City—2 J. H. Farrell.
2 Murdock & Veach.
2 A. J. Ormston.
North East—1 H. Ellen.
Philadelphis—1 American Baptist Pub. Society, 1420 Chest-nut st.
2 Central News Co.
1 Camplon & Co., 1305 Walnut st.

delphis—I American Baptist Pub. Society, 1420 Chest nut st.
2 Central News Co.
1 Campion & Co., 1305 Walnut st.
3 H. W. Fisher & Co., 127 S. 15th st.
2 Friends Book Ass'n, 1500 Race st.
2 Julius Kuhiman, 117 N. 13th st.
1 Methodist Episcopal Book Concern, 1018 Arch st.
3 Perkinpine & Higgins, 914 Arch st.
1 Strawbridge & Clothier.
2 O. Thoms, 1237 S. 3d st.
1 John Wanamaker.
2 Warwick's News Depot & Stationery Shop, 262
8, 11th.

2 Warwick S. News Depot & Stationery & Itth. Phoenixville—2 Horace D. Keeley. 2 Michael O'Neill. Pittsburg—1 R. S. Davis & Co., 346 5th ave. 2 Jacob Henrici, 6126 Penn ave. 2 Kurtz, Langbein & Swartz, 439 Wood st.

2 Jacob Henrici, 6126 Penn ave.
2 Kurts. Langbein & Swarts, 439 Wood st.
2 Pittsburg News Co.
2 Jos. Steding & Co., 588 Smithfield st.
1 United Presbyertian Board of Publication, 209 9th st.
1 J. R. Weldin & Co., 429-431 Wood st.
Pittston—2 C. R. Andrews.
Reading—2 Jas. H. Miller, 825 Penn st.
1 Roland's, 625 Penn st.
1 Roland's, 625 Penn st.
1 Roland's, 625 Penn st.
Ridgeway—2 A. B. Reed.
Royersford—2 R. H. Keeler.
Scranton—2 M. Norton, 308 Lackawanna st.
2 R. E. Pendergast, 307 N. Washington st.
2 Reisman Bros., 406 Spruce st.
Somerset—2 Chas H. Fisher.
Sunbury—2 C. F. Melick.
2 P. P. Smith.
Tamaqua—1 David Bensigner, 72 W. Broad st.
Titusville—2 Cohn & Oakleaf.
Ulster—2 Porter & Co.
Warren—2 A. A. Davis & Co.
2 F. R. Scott.
Waynesboro—2 T. B. Smith.
Wilkesbarre—1 John C. Madden, 59 Public Square,
2 J. M. Montgomery, 44 E. Market st.
2 Puckey & Bro., 54 S. Main st.



#### Pennsylvania-Continued.

Wilkesbarre—2 H. G. Shupp, 36 W. Market st. Williamsport—2 John M. Dean & Co. 2 A. R. Hinckley & Co., 209 W. Fourth st. 2 Scholl Bros.

2 Senou Bros.
2 Geo. Wolf.
2 John Wilhelm.
1 W. C. Siess.
York—1 H. C. Barnhart, 27 W. Market st.
2 Oram Briggs.
2 B. H. Lau.

Philippine Islands.

Manila-1 E. C. McCullough & Co., corner Plaza Goiti and Santa Cruz Bridge.

#### Rhode Island.

Newport-1 Geo. H. Carr, Daily News Building. 1 W. P. Clark.

Newport—1 Geo. H. Carr, Daily News Building.

1 W. P. Clark.
3 Simon Hart, 202 Thames st.
2 M. T. Leary's News Stand, 168 Broadway.
2 W. E. Mumford's News Stand, 168 Broadway.
2 W. E. Mumford's News Stand, S. Main st.
2 Gregory News Co., 20 High st.
Providence—3 Callender, McAuslan & Troupe Co.
2 Carpenter's News Stand, 492 Westminster st.
2 A. F. Davis, 181 Weybasset st.
1 Gregory's Book Store, 116 Union st.
2 Joy Line Steamers, S. Water st. Pler, near Point st.
Bridge.
2 E. L. Meyers, 695 Westminster st.
1 Preston & Kounds Co., 98 Westminster st.
1 Preston & Kounds Co., 98 Westminster st.
1 Node Island News Co.
Westerly—2 A. N. Nash.
1 O. Stillman, 8 High st.
Woonsocket—2 John Cherry, 141 S. Main st.
2 J. F. Flynn, 282 Main st.
2 F. M. Lally, 80 Main st.
2 W. S. Preston, 188 Main st.

#### South Carolina.

Charleston--2 Bruce Bros., 556 King st. 2 G. Dixon, 200 King st.
2 Isaac Hammond, 10 Broad st.
1 Clifford L. Legerton, 263 King st.
2 A. W. Riecke, 311 King st.

#### South Dakota.

Rapid City—1 J. J. McNamara, Main st. between 6th and 7th. Sjoux Falls—1 W. D. Simons, 123 S. Phillips ave.

#### Tennessee.

Chattanooga—2 F. F. Andrews, 117 W. 5th st.

2 D. B. Henderson & Co.

2 D. B. Loveman Co.

2 T. H. Payne & Co.

Knoxville—2 Doll & Co.

2 Ogden Bros. & Co.

2 Ramage & Co.

Memphis—2 Hersog Stationery Co.

2 Isaacs Book Store.

2 R. M. Mansford Stationery Co.

3 A. R. Taylor & Co., 318 Main st.

Nashville—3 Hunter & Welburn.

2 Hutchington Bros. Cedar, near Cherry st.

2 Methodist Publishing House.

2 J. M. Mills, Cherry and Union sts.

2 A. Setliff & Co.

2 J. M. Stewart, Church, near High.

2 Tulane News Stand, Church and Spruce st.

2 Zebert Bros., Church and Vine sts.

Texas.

Austin—2 Capitol City Book Co. 2 Meyer & Keller. 2 Tobin's Book Store, 606 Congress ave. Bellevue—2 Sowell & Melion.

#### Texas-Continued

El Paso—2 Deliquest & Co.

2 W. A. Irvin & Co.

2 The International Book & Stationery Co., 107 El Pasost.
Fort Worth—2 T. J. Boas.
Galveston—2 Ferd. Daffnerer.

2 Gust. Feist Co.

2 Ferdinand Ohlendorf, 2015 Market st.

2 J. R. Newrath.
Houston—2 Bottler Bros., 410 Main st.

2 J. J. Pasteriza Printing Co.

2 T. Pillot, 409 Main st.

2 Purdy Bros.
San Antonio—2 Thos. B. Johnson.

2 Geo. Roe.

1 Nic. Tengs.
Waco—2 Hill Bros., cor. 4th and Austin sts.

#### Titah

Ogden—2 Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons Co.

2 W. G. Kind, 114 25th st.

2 J. H. Spargo.
Provo—1 Provo Book & Stationery Co.
Salt Lake City—Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons Co.

1 A. R. Derge & Co.

2 Margetts Bros.

2 Pembroke Stationery Co.

2 C. R. Savage.

2 L. F. Hammel, 49 W. 2nd South st.

2 Salt Lake News Co., 71 W. 2nd South st.

#### Vermont.

Burlington—2 T. F. Aheran.

2 Charles H. Bessey.

2 Free Press Association.

Montpelier—3 Chas. F. Buswell, 39 Main st.

2 E. T. Seguin.

Rutland—2 Geo. E. Chalmers. 2 H. A. Sawyer & Co. 3 The Tuttle Co., 11-13 Center st.

#### Virginia.

Charlottesville—1 A. C. Brechin & Son, 200 E. Main st. Danville—2 Boatwright Bros. Co.
Lynchburg—2 J. P. Bell Company.

2 Gregory Bros.

2 D. B. Payne.

2 Scott & Noble.
Norfolk—2 J. V. Alfriend & Co.

2 Wesley W. Hosier.

2 Nusbaum Book & News Co.

2 Vickery & Co.

Petersburg—2 T. S. Beckwith & Co.

2 The Corner Book Store.
Portsmouth—1 Anderson & Thompson.

2 W. L. Crump & Co.
Richmond—2 Bell Book & Stationery Co., 914 Main st.

2 A. Hartung.

2 Hunter & Co., 629 E. Broad st.

2 R. G. Meyer.
Roanoke—2 Caldwell-Sites Co., 7 Masonic Temple.

#### Washington.

Olympia—2 M. O'Connor, 508 Main.

2 Van Epps & Churchill.

Port Townsend—2 M. French & Co.

Seattle—2 Denny Coryell Co.

2 Lowman & Hanford. 616 1st ave.

3 J. M. Lyon & Co., 207 Pike St.

2 O. P. Mooney, Ardade Building, 1315 Second ave.

2 Puget Sound News Co.

2 G. R. Rheinlander.

2 Seattle Stationery & Printing Co.

Spokane—1 John W. Graham & Co.

2 Gray, Ewing & Co.

2 Shaw & Borden Co.

Tacoma—2 Central News Co.

2 W. W. McKee.

2 Vaughan & Morrill Co.

2 Visell & Ekberg.

1 Wheeler Bros., 939 Tacoma ave.

